Indian Antiquities of Hindostan

THOMAS MAURICE



WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

K V Soundara Rajan

This is an invaluable reprint of Thomas Maurice's 7-volume work, *Indian Antiquities*, comprising several beautifully rendered dissertations on the ancient geographical divisions of India, her primeval theology, code of civil laws, forms of government, trade, commerce and literature.
Thomas Maurice draws on an astonishing range of sources to study at length the physical theology of India vis-a-vis the religious practices followed in ancient Egypt, Persia and Greece, and also to unfold the purer and more arcane principles of devotion prevailing in these nations, principles largely buried in the bosom of the priest and the philosopher. He examines, among a vast array of other interesting subjects, many of the arts and sciences anciently cultivated by the Indians, particularly in architecture and sculpture. He presents the entire history of their progress in navigation and considers the manufactures more immediately connected with the beautiful productions of the Indian loom. And throughout his investigations, Maurice diligently seeks contemporary parallels from Persian, Egyptian and Greek laws, governments, religions and literature.

In volume 1 Maurice analyses the geographical divisions of ancient India and describes the grandeur of cities like Palibothra (Patliputra), Delhi, Lahore and Agra. The second volume discusses the theology of Hindustan including the antiquity of the *Vedas*, the doctrine of metempsychosis and the veneration of the solar orb and fire. Volumes 3 and 4 survey Indian temple

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Indian Antiquities or Dissertations Hindostan

VOLUME ONE

Indian Antiquities or Dissertations of Hindostan

VOLUME ONE

Thomas Maurice

With a Prefatory Introduction by

K V Soundara Rajan

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INDIAN ANTIQUITIES:

OR,

DISSERTATIONS,

RELATIVE TO

THE ANTIENT GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS,
THE PURE SYSTEM OF PRIMEVAL THEOLOGY,
THE GRAND CODE OF CIVIL LAWS,
THE ORIGINAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT,
THE WIDELY-EXTENDED COMMERCE, AND
THE VARIOUS AND PROFOUND LITERATURE,

OF HINDOSTAN:

COMPARED, THROUGHOUT, WITH THE
RELIGION, LAWS, GOVERNMENT, and LITERATURE,

OF

PERSIA, EGYPT, AND GREECE,

THE WHOLE INTENDED
AS INTRODUCTORY TO

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN,
UPON A COMPREHENSIVE SCALE.

VOL. I.

Containing the DISSERTATION on the ANTIENT GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS of HINDOSTAN.

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1806.

TO THE

UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,

THE TWO FIRST VOLUMES OF

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES,

IN WHICH

A NEW PATH

IN LITERATURE

IS ATTEMPTED TO BE EXPLORED,

ARE, WITH PROFOUND RESPECT,

AND WITH BECOMING DIFFIDENCE,

INSCRIBED BY

THOMAS MAURICE.

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW EDITION

THE VOLUMES of the work by Thomas Maurice, under republication, should be considered as symptomatic of their age and perhaps the dawn of an era of persevering research and unbiased though sometimes frankly mistaken judgement of the culture, institutions and religion of ancient India. Their cannot be any question of the sincerity of the effort or the competence of scholarly calibre involved. Indeed, it shows a perspicacious interest in even some of the relatively obscure aspects of ancient Indian life, and where it concerns its intellectual and abstract thought, falls unerringly in line with its orientation, and tends to delve into its subtleties with caution as well as a benign interest. It is easy to cavil at its lack of first-hand information. But then who has learnt first-hand or fully about countries other than his own, except by accident of circumstance? It is not difficult to dispute its lack of *traditional* insight, but can there be a subjective appraisal of even the most noble and notable of the institutions of mankind, making it a sort of a vested interest of only the people concerned? It would be quite unavoidable even to laugh at some of its inchoate attempts to *overread* the symbolism of the religious trends of ancient India, on the analogy of other near distant regions, but does not civilization and its organization often inspire communities with like ecology, or where their *quondam* habitat had been common with others?

It would be perceivable to the meanest understanding, therefore, on a perusal of these volumes that here was a representative of the West who shared a common interest, an integrated heritage and an intellectual frater-

nity with the Orient and was able to show both courage and conceptual vigour, both linguistic and cultural knowledgeability and an intrinsic purity of approach, who had no axe to grind, no racial animus to uphold, no intellectual arrogance to flaunt. He was a clear product of *his times*, where the Orient was yet a mystery wrapped in an enigma; was the right objective for altruistic research; was iridescent in its universality of thought and tradition, inscrutable in its symbolism and concepts, magnetic in the attractions of its sublime religious and secular literature, flamboyant in its temporal glamour in the halcyon days of its glory. It was indeed the right *pabulum* for the intellectual *elite* of any country. The author leaves none in doubt that in his age, clime and country, he did belong to this rare, animated and objective band of humanists who, like the *yogi* of India, had to learn the truth of the universe and its myriad processes, by perseverance, by respect to its leaders whose wisdom he should imbibe, by a sympathetic and discerning study of its *ethos* and institutional network, not discarding the search, though tripping again and again. Here was a scholar who had the right credentials, notwithstanding the natural deficiencies in his inherited culture for understanding the technicalities of the culture which he was eager to acquire, the deficiency made good by a disarming forthrightness and *naiveté* by which one tends to forgive most amiably the deficiencies of factual argument. There is no doubt, however, that he was in the very *avant garde* of the oriental scholarship in the Occident, who was certainly not touched nor tainted by the vagaries of the times when colonial condescension could indeed work havoc with the sensibilities of Indian culture.

One of many important aspects of the series of dissertations involved in these volumes is the width of the canvas and the consistent attempt at integrating and correlating the facts, seen or taken as seen in the Indian situation with the data found, or taken to be found in the other vital regions which form the complementary parts, as in West Asia and the

Mediterranean civilizations. It is also notable that the evidence upon which the observations are based are clearly set out by appropriate references to the authorities concerned. It is very likely that in the situation existing in the second half of the 18th century A.D. or a little later, it would not have been possible for many scholars then dealing with Indian studies to have a clear-cut perception of the elements of Indian culture. This makes the study by the author of these volumes doubly meritorious, notwithstanding flaws which are apparently not of his making but of the knowledge then available to scholars interested in the subject. The alacrity with which the author wants to cross-check some data with personal references to experts living in India some of whom, like Sir William Jones, are of impeccable scholarly calibre and fidelity of purpose, only goes to highlight the total *bonafides* of the author. There is no need, in these circumstances, to spare him for some of his more serious blemishes which again are acquired by him from his voracious study of the most persistent and prevalent theses on the vital aspects of Indian religion, culture and society—the oblique and seemingly parochial tints of which are therefore born of the ideas then fashionably current and which, one may say, are even now flaunted with a seeming similitude of substance by modern scholars who ought to know better. Thus, we have no reservations in giving the author a clean chit in so far as his intentions and competence are concerned.

A most pervasive and inspiring part of the narrative is the classic and romantic style in which the writings are couched. We do certainly concede that in the 18th century A.D., the Elizabethan English outlook on literary idiom has not yet fully given place to the soft and mellifluous diction of the 'Nature poets' and thus the written style tends to be a shade grandiose and long-winded. But it cannot be denied its character nor underrated, and especially the parenthetical use of secondary or afterthoughts, intertwined with the crisp employment of prepositions does make the diction

impulsive and vigorous. There is no doubt also that, being the Johnsonian era—a fact doubly made patent by the close fraternization of our author with that mercurial and majestic celebrity to the extent of having one of his other works adorned by a preface of Dr. Samuel Johnson—there is a certain languorous understatement in the literary air, a wry humour which offendeth not and a deliberate use of antithesis in the periods of the sentence. All told, it is full of nostalgic tinges and picturises the literary *ethos* of the century in no uncertain terms. As the author avers, the style indeed suits well the nobility of the subject matter and therein he again vindicates himself as no lackadaisical *dilettante*, nibbling with *ennui*, at the pastureland of the Orient, with his nose in the air and head in the clouds. He was indeed a serious and sympathetic student eager to unlock the prime keys to the unfolding of the oriental profundity in thought, art and spirituality; and who shall not say that, irrespective of quite a few digressions into mistaken pathways, he had come out as an ardent researcher whose thinking and writing alike will repay many times the labour spent on it?

Nor can the blame of having been primarily less well-informed on the Orient be laid at his doors too precipitately. For, if we only scan the impressive array of works he had consulted, under the eightfold categories of (a) geographical dissertations (of which there are seventeen works cited, published between 1549 A.D. and 1971); (b) on Egyptians and Ethiopians (of which there are fourteen cited, published between 1600 and 1787 A.D.); (c) on Hebrew, Phoenician, Chaldaic and Arabian antiquities (of which as many as thirty-three are cited, published between 1542 and 1766 A.D.); (d) Persian, Egyptian and Greek Mysteries (of which fourteen works are cited, between 1602 and 1790 A.D.); (e) antiquities of Persia, India, Tartary, China and Japan (of which as many as thirty-five are noticed, between 1659 and 1787 A.D.); (f) oriental astronomy (on which twenty works have been cited, between 1653 and 1790 A.D.); (g) chro-

nology (on which ten works are noticed, between 1658 and 1790 A.D.); and (h) classical, oriental and European history (on which a wide range of sixty works are noted, from 1588 to 1788 A.D.), one would indeed pause with respect at this altruistic votary of the Muses, who had found time, labour and energy to spend on so much of the lore published during a span of nearly three centuries prior to him, on technical and documentational data and relating themselves to the entire early periods of the past of both the Mediterranean and West Asian—with which he had so painstakingly correlated with care, conviction and method, the ramified legacy of the Orient, especially on India. Indeed, no one person had undertaken to deal with so much material and had come out with such singular success, especially when it is seen that the scholar had not set his foot on the shores or the soil of India, *even once* during his lifetime, probably due to circumstances beyond his control. His dedication towards the high ideals inherent in and the lofty spiritual and philosophical lore so much an integral part of Indian antiquity, has been so transparent in his writings spread over these seven volumes, that one frankly wonders as to what higher peaks of achievement in this research he would not have scaled, if he were favoured with closer personal observations in India. His originality of approach is writ large in every section of the dissertations and even for the modern eye, some of his observations are remarkably ahead of the times, which goes to show the powers of assimilation that the author was capable of and the finer angles of approach and observation that such deep understanding of the topics impel him to take, which his occidental birth and breeding had not a whit obstructed him from taking.

It is indeed fortunate that he decided to commit to pen and ink his inner stirrings on a study of Indian culture and antiquities, with an avidity that would have honoured an oriental scholar. It is here that we are bound to perceive the total commitment he appears to have acquired for a detailed consideration of the Indian way of life, as gleaned from its

rich legacy which would indeed have been possible for or well suited only a scholar with a difference from another time and clime who like him voluntarily claims to be a legatee of this universal heritage. Insuperable difficulties in understanding or handling a comprehensive and rigorous language like Sanskrit would have indeed been inevitably created in his studies, but he had brushed them aside without any self-conscious shyness for his bizarre spellings and by delving deep into the mysteries of these works through the right type of translations of the original which he could lay his hands on. His sound grounding in Latin and the classical western literature from which he appears to quote, with facility, time and again—has clearly groomed him towards an easy perception of geographical and astronomical literature (that he had also cited) and had, to that extent qualified him for the difficult and hazardous assignment which he had cast unto himself. It is perhaps one of the few studies of its kind where historical, geographical, spiritual and astronomical dimensions of the ancient centres of civilization have been considered *concurrently*, in order to eke out certain possible substratum considerations helpful in formulating mutual links. It is also a welcome surprise that he had a capacity for selective absorption of affiliated data, without going over the whole ground of their other irrelevant though not unimportant features. One is touched by his candour in admitting how deep an impact had been created on him by just three disparate but noble Indian compositions—three gems of ancient Hindu India virtually—namely, the *Bhagavat Gita*, the *Sakuntalam* of Kalidasa and the *Hitopadesa*; and had in fact moulded his thinking for venturing unfettered into the verdant pastureland of early Indian literature and culture, well guided by the multi-faceted norms that these have laid down for imbibing the spirit of Indian culture. If his own favourite theme of metempsychosis had any relevance to himself, one may well conjecture that, in a distant past birth, he would have been a blessed gentile of *Bharatvarsha*, journeying through life's

landmarks and gravitating single-mindedly towards obtaining the *purusharthas* of human existence, as adumbrated in the Indian holy texts. To give just a random sampling of the unerring precision with which he was able to touch the heartland of Indian thought, one may just refer to his emphasis on Ayodhya and Hastinapura having been the most important cities of ancient India, or his passing footnote reference to the fact that Ceylon is not the Lanka of the *Ramayana*, but perhaps the Maldives deep in the Arabian Sea! He may well be a 20th century scholar, parrying with the topical headlines these have created in recent times; and this he wrote nearly three hundred years ago, without having seen India or felt the glow of Indian sun and air in his lungs! His very close study, especially of the classical geographers and chroniclers like Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy the author of *Periplus* and others, enabled him to rechalk out an itinerary that Alexander or others had carried out in the centuries around Christ.

Notwithstanding his frequent and well-intentioned assertions that he had been checking data or reassuring himself by reference to his Indian scholarly colleagues like Sir William Jones, anyone going through the volumes is, struck time and again, by a seeming authenticity with which he delineates Indian culture– entirely vicariously, nonetheless, for a fact. He is the finest example of the Shakespearean dictum that "the appetite grows by what it feeds on" and what an insatiable appetite he seems to have had for the culture of India! It has been customary often to denigrate the writings of westerners who may be dealing with Indian religion, as an unnecessary exertion, being without any commitment to the matrix of Indian culture. But, it should be stated, regarding the volumes under release that despite their obvious blemishes, genuinely caused, their primary *focus* had been on the sublimity and spiritual impeccability of the Indian view on life and on the supernatural principle, and thus their wide circulation would go some way in dispelling the self-righteous stance that an insider may take on matters

connected with Indian culture and would convince him as to how birth alone will not ensure the right type of equipment for an Indian to delve into his precious ancient legacy, and an outsider's healthy interest and insight may even serve as a corrective for his taking more than a mere proprietory interest in his heritage. Thomas Maurice had rendered great service by his writings to highlight the challenges that the Indian heritage throws up to a westerner, and how by a cultivated and disciplined scholarship one may acquire the necessary bonafides for dealing with this lore in its abstract as well as concrete formulations, and create a feeling almost tantamount to the sentiments of a faithful votary of this legacy. The re-publication, thus, of these volumes, is especially relevant to the modern times, when these values, long cherished, are under strain against adverse onslaughts on their suitability with the march of time. A detailed comment, now is offered on his treatment of his onerous tasks.

In many of the volumes the author dwells variously on the ancient geographical divisions, the systems of primeval theology, the code of civil laws, the original form of government, the commerce and the profound literature of India, and compares these in the context of those of Persia, Egypt and Greece.

Indian religion, when it crystallised, was seen based upon the quadripartite entities of the immortality of the soul, the constant defections that physical body made from the path of rectitude (which gave rise to the doctrine of transmigration of the soul), its regeneration by penance, and the reunion of the soul metaphysically with the cosmic Creator—the Supreme guiding principle. In the elaborations of the methods of active interrelation between symbolic godhead and human sentience and conscience, the author saw considerable analogy with various early communities elsewhere. The Druids of England, for instance, according to Pliny and others derived their origin and growth from Dera—the oak tree—under which they performed their sacrifices as priests. The triple leaves together forming a sacred trefoil, were

considered as the symbolism of the three-fold distinctions in the deity. Homer, in the hymn to Mercury (*Budha*) called it the Tripethaon, the golden three-leaved wand. It is interesting in this connection, to note that, in the Indus Valley civilization, the steatite statuette of a priest-king(?) with a robe covering his body by being spread across the left shoulders, has trefoil textile designs on it. It may perhaps tend to be a symbolic religious motif. and stand for some perception of the potential of *pragna* which is overseen by *Budha* in astrology.

The author, firmly postulates, again and again, to use partly his own words, that it was from the fountains of Chaldaean, Persian, Indian and Egyptian learning that the Grecian sages derived their copious streams of the theological knowledge which was afterwards through their disciples, to widely diffuse through Greece and Italy. He shows how for instance, Pythagoras, the noted philosopher-scientist of the 5th century B.C. had heard of the Chaldaean and Persian Magi and the renowned Brahmanas of India and he was impatient to explore the hallowed cases of the farmer and the consecrated forests of the latter. In an extended discussion on the theological system of India, the author gives out his own proposition that the sources from which the conception of Vishnu and Siva worship could have been derived could be from the benevolent sons of Shem and the gloomy progeny of Gush. He cites a parallel between the forehead *tilak* marks of Vishnuite and Sivaite worshippers, in red vertical line and saffron horizontal line, and the allusions in Ezekiel, IX-4 where the Almighty commands His angels to go through the city and set a mark on the foreheads of the men (His servants and faithfuls), and to Revelations VII-31 "Hurt not the earth . . . till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads". Even on the colour scheme of the markings, he notes, how the Chaldaean devotees painted their idols according to the colour of the planet or star worshipped. He wonders at the festival of *Bhavani*, which can be compared to that of Dea Syria of Chaldaea; the

Festival of Vernal Nature, with that of Venus Urania of Persia; the Festival of the Maypole with the Festival of Bonfires in propitiation of Karthikeya, in the same month. He is perplexed at the green, amber and black stone *salagrama* of the solar Vishnu with its perforations and *chakra* impressions with solar worship, how the temple tank could be related to that of Medes and the Persian temples, how Osiris and Isis bear the lunar crescent, as that of Siva and how even the Greeks placed the crescent on the head of Diana Lucifera, how Archimagus with his sceptre displayed on his right head a crescent of six-day-old moon, how the Greek goddess Cybele the personification of mother earth, with her eunuch priests who allude to the barren state of earth without cultivation, can be paralleled by the furrow of the earth from which the Indian Sita, the personification and daughter of Earth goddess was born. He is dismayed at the *devadasis* of Indian temples, described by Herodotus, who would be compared with that of Bayaderes of Syria and the initiation ceremony into the mysteries of Mylitta at Babylon where every woman of the district was obliged to undergo the surrender of her body which hypothesis, if admitted, according to him would only exhibit proof that throughout the pagan world, universally, the system of gross physics prevailed and the earth itself was adored, as much as, or instead of its creator. Though he is appalled by the singing women of India surrendering their chastity, in the name of the cult, we should pardon him for his forthright, it erroneous assertions and praise him for admitting that such differences have to be explained by an investigation into the nature and attributes of the deities respectively adored in these countries. The gods of India were gross physical deities of nature and its various powers personified. He sets out to compare the dances with bacchanalian import in Indian religion as of Para, Siva and Parasakti and those of the Almai of Egypt, the Pyrrhic dance of the Spartans to the sound of martial music, the dance of Eumenides or Furies on the stage of Athens, and wonders if the smearing

of the foreheads and body of Saiva devotees with the ashes of cowdung, could be so because cowdung was the medium by which the barren soil was rendered prolific, and recalls the remarkable use of offerings of cowdung placed on the altar of the Assyrian Venus, on the basis of the productive principle which could have originated in the Galli. For him the Indian astronomical god *Budha* is comparable with Fo of China, Mercury of the west, the Hermes of the Greeks and Woden of northern Europe, leading him even to support the assertion of Burrow that the Stonehenge monument of England was one of the temples of *Budha*, which in effect lead to the contention that the Druids were Brahmins.

It may not be gainsaid that the author does not operate in any fixed time-measure or chronological scales, and perhaps students and antiquarians who set store by archaeological methodology for chrono-cultural sequences or comparisons may find some of the hypothetical postulates and speculations of Maurice at times tremendously confusing. But the fact of the matter is that in all his dissertations, he states his premises, his presumptions and the sources of information, however disparate in time and space they may be, and certainly the nature of the spectrum and core of his studies are not indeed truly amenable to purely archaeological studies alone, but ethno-linguistic and socio-cultural models and homotaxial prototypes. Thus one wonders sometimes if we have indeed any such book where a single individual had cast upon himself the onerous task of investigating into the highly complicated matrix of the Indian legacy, the knotty problems of which, even two centuries after Maurice, are still bedevilling the indologist and the archaeologist, and often finds scholars arrayed in two academically warring camps, the traditionalists and pragmatists, and the crucial data for both is often not susceptible to cross-checking being mostly literary in one case and material in the other. The logical developments and social transformations in art, culture and science in India which had been witnessed by the authors of the very

literature, the field archaeologists will often denounce as unhistorical and imprecise, but he would not himself, truly, be able to deliver the goods, except on the social philosophy of economic compulsions. Interrelated studies of the eco-systems have not been seriously pursued yet for tackling such problems. In such a circumstance, the least one can do is to peruse the volumes like those of Maurice, so that the kaleidoscopic range of the culture spectrum—its diversity in unity wrought by environment, geography and value systems which have equations mainly with nature—will be at least apprehended if not comprehended. Yesterday's myth is today's confirmation and tomorrow's legend. Intrinsic truths about the long unfolding vista of the growth of human potential, institutions and motivations cannot be summarily tackled by only one set of data, however factually sound they may be. They have to be fused on the anvil of research, with a multiplicity of integrated data on the environment, which then as now, is the only stable factor in the argument. If this could be appreciated, it is knowledge and cross-fertilizations of the vast pools of facts that will be the guarantor of any worthwhile evaluation of and application of mind to one's distant legacy. One must indeed go from the known to the unknown. What 18th century India and the lands around and beyond looked like then was and is unknown to many, and Maurice's volumes give just the type of appetizer that will whet one's zeal for the perceptions of the infinitely diversified facets of India's cultural mantle. This exercise of going back by two centuries, even if to enter a caveat against what was surely one of the most avid and knowledgeable minds of that period, will itself be a refreshing and productive one, and clear the cobwebs alike of complacency and vested interest in culture.

The author sets the environment in one of his volumes for the basis of the material prosperity of the nations of West Asia and the Orient, in gold and silver and gemstones, which enriched their life styles and was resultant in producing the pageantry that gave satisfaction mentally and morally to the

communities there, otherwise hidebound, conventional, ethically and morally conformist and spiritually austere and sincere. The author gives what is probably the most factual description to be found anywhere for the techniques adopted for the extraction of these gold and silver ores. Enterprise, as of Phoenicia and India in the early times, was based on a combination of material skills and inner placidity. Much of the wealth though doubtless spent on luxury of the monarchs and the affluent, was equally lavished on the temples of their gods which were spiritual institutions with a same *regimen* of the potential of a temporal king, from carpets to ivory and pearls, to silk, honey and wine. The gamut of life's sophisticated needs was constantly re-charged by the enterprise of busy merchants and mariners who had the expertise for skirting and crossing the seas. Such a venture called for the finest coordination of acumen, patience and sturdiness.

The author shows how the city of Babylon (the Indian *Bhaveru*—of the early Buddhist Jatakas, as we know), though itself not having any mines of its own, absorbed through the machinery of enterprising trade contacts, all the wealth of the vortex of which it was in geographically central position. It enriched with it the statuary for God—not cast but beaten as specifically mentioned—in gold for Jupiter, Juno and Rhea, the universal mother. These were of astounding height and girth, weighing several thousand talents of gold, with elaborate altars, censers and ornamental decoration for the structures. Thus, sustained and planned exploitation of mineral wealth besides yielding a life of pomp was also providing for the spiritual life and the worlds beyond. Social virtues like hospitality, munificence, contentment and integrity flowed only out of the surfeit of material acquisitions for a prosperous life style for the entire community. Individuals thus lived for the nation, and the nation itself became a byword for individuality. Astronomy, instruments for empirical operations, weights and measures and geometry flowed out of these transactions as secondary requirements and benefits. Mascots and emblems like the serpent of the

Tyrenians, owl of the Athenians, shell of the Peloponnesians, bow and arrow of the Persians, the horse of the Thessalians, the dolphin of the Thracians and the lotus of the Indians were the creative bye-products of such an exultant and extrovert impact and trade identity. Honourable indigence, strict *regimen* and laborious exercises gave place in the Persians to an indolent effiminacy and voluptuousness which had already branded the Lydians in history markedly as Philistines who enjoyed every source of enjoyment; and even a public edict offered a reward for anyone inventing a new pleasure. Susa and Ekbatana, as described by Curtinis and Herodotus, show this truly. Under Alexander, with his insatiable ambition to carve out his new empire, Alexandria became the hub of all activity of collecting the best resources to such an extent that his annual tribute from the Persian, African and Indian empires was amounting to 3,00,000 talents of gold, equivalant to 58 millions of the 18th century money. The Thracian mines alone produced one thousand talents of gold annually, equivalant to three millions. The temples of Minerva and Elis were the ultimate in pomp and splendour. From the indulgence of Alexander, the author moves to the phallic festival of Bacchus in the city of Corinth, where the golden image of Phallus— 120 cubits in length and six cubits girth—of the ensign of the deity, was taken in procession. The festivals and sacrifices, the sports and the games and the orgies glutted Rome, and the appetite and prodigality of Rome during the early Caesars was followed by the successors who ravaged Asia and again Roman gold flowed into Indian marts, in exchange of luxury goods, pearl and spices.

The author has his own great admiration for the art and architecture of ancient India. All the same, these sections were perhaps one of the weakest in these volumes, because the lack of first hand knowledge in the evaluation of art production will be an unavailing job, as they are primarily visual and besides any amount of description cannot really produce the right kind of aesthetic assessment and often

may give a very subjective picture. But that the author desired to show how these monumental architectural pieces were an inevitable part of the *ethos* of the Indian community is obvious. The literature of the ancient Indians is another theme that fascinated the author. He enthusiastically delves deep, wanting explanations to be found for the common origin of the Indian Sanskrit script (Devanagari) with those of the Phoenicians, Chaldaic square letters and of the Ethiopian. In a discussion on the early Vedic literature and the origin and character of Sanskrit, the author quotes with objectivity from Sir William Jones regarding how the first three Vedas are over 3000 years before Christ and the Yajurveda in particular may be about 1580 B.C. This was based on the seeming contemporaneity of Moses and his departure to Egypt. The author's attunement to the subject is brought at every step, and he opines that Indian science and history are blended with an uncommon development of natural history and mythology and thus are a compound of physics and metaphysics; that the philosophical import of their religion saw a direct tendency in nature to dissolution, and also saw a power in nature capable of counteracting that tendency and thus were created Siva and Vishnu, opposed in nature.

In the astronomical lore of India, he picks up the concept of Kaliyuga and the Deluge—which elsewhere are noted in the Noah's Ark and the 'antediluvian' events. He has trenchant criticism to offer, however, about the observance of traditions by the Indian in a highly conformist way without even realising about the need to have exceptions to any rule and quotes the rather ridiculous example of how the Mohammadan chief of the *Subha* in mediaeval South India exploited the Hindu tendency not to do any work with instruments on the *Auydha Puja* day of Dusserah, and invaded the fortified town of Gingee in Tamil Nadu on that very day and found the garrison succumbing without any resistance! Such a criticism is indeed forthright and salutary, and should not be scorned. For, the objective manner in which

the author accepts facts as he found them to be is also shown by the candid manner in which he extols the Indian astronomical mode of dividing the heavens into a table of twenty eight lunar mansions, which he concedes the Greeks did not know earlier to the Indians. He even speculates, while discussing the iconography of Sani (Saturn) which has a pair of snakes encircling like an orb over his head, and feels inclined to see in this the observation of the rings of Saturn, and muses how this feature which was discovered in the West for the first time by Galileo, the astronomer scientist in 1628 A.D. only had been known very much earlier in India. He also complimentingly quotes the Tables of Tirvalur (Tiruvarur in Tamil Nadu) which M. Gentil published in Europe much later, and in which the concept of Kaliyuga (the aeon of dissolution) is fixed by an era the *Kali era* with epoch at 3102 B.C., on the basis of the position of Jupiter and Mercury being in the same degree of the ecliptic (the relative solar orbit line), with Mars distant by about 8 degrees of the same, and Saturn by 17 degrees; and how when Kaliyuga started, these planets successively disengaged themselves from the rays of the sun which fact was subsequently confirmed by scientists at Edinburgh. A corollary of this very postulate related to the length of the solar year which was in the time of Moses reckoned at 365 days, 6 hours and 12½ minutes; which decreased to 365 days, 5 hours and forty-eight minutes in the time of Hipparchus, and how this discovery of the steadily decreasing length of the year is able to show that the Hindu calendar was already aware of it nearly 7300 years ago, and how further the fixation of the equinoctial coheres and solsticial points was known in India already by the 12th century before Christ—a fact which helped Sir William Jones in fixing *Manu Smriti* to that century.

Similarly, on the science of medicine, chemistry, hydraulics, and painting, sculpture and architecture, he brings out the systematic approach of the Indian mind to acquire increasing knowledge of heavenly bodies, through original approach to

the orthodox applications in daily life. He closes one of the volumes with the discussion on the structure and character of the Indian system of State and government which seemingly, in a theoretical way, had been a theoeratic pattern, with duties, rights and privileges and immunities for the social group. He notes how the rewards of adherence were flattering enough, but the punishment meted out to the violation was often tending to be terrible. He compares these comments here with those elsewhere and he finds himself quoting from a translation in one of the volumes of *Manu Smriti* and the counterpart of the Levitical, seeing the brahmanical tribal as its counterpart.

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It is possible to have many approaches to the prefatory comments on a book so conspicuously significant for its times. One may, if he is a historian, wish to think aloud about what kind of person Maurice who wrote it was and why he wrote, delving for this purpose into a historical philosophy, contemporary thrusts and motivations, and even into the attitudes of Britons of his times towards Indian culture. To a student of culture, that may be skirting the issues. Or, one may, if he is a litterateur, wax eloquent about what Maurice himself wrote, other than these studies of the antiquities of Hindusthan--which were indeed many and prolific—and weigh their content and intent. Contemporary Indo-Anglian literature, from the time of Maurice till today, has a surfeit of the variety of sentiments that English writers and other anglophiles and anglophobes churned out in prose and poetry. That would certainly not inform us about the volumes under discussion, which are another cup of tea, notwithstanding the several references to his own contemporaries and *bete-noires* that the author had made in these volumes. On the other hand, a study and comment on what indeed he *specifically discussed* in these very volumes and *how far* they help us in understanding ourselves better, would be deemed more appropriate. Thus considered, Maurice, the

archivist, the vicar and the daring documentarist of Eastern religions and culture, would loom large on the horizon, and despite many of his own unconscious and conscious errors of reasoning, his is a production which tremendously rouses the *psyche* of the Indian and is meaningful and uncommitted, and was sure to produce a lasting impression on anyone who cares to peruse them. One may, therefore, without being the least apologetic, go through the wealth of information assiduously collected and collated by Thomas Maurice, and draw one's own considered conclusions for further studies and admit as much of the data as are welcome, and leave aside such as are untenable—without any reflection on the author's integrity which is writ large on these prodigious pages.

Borne on the wings of past time, the reader is taken back to a late 18th century India, when colonalism of the British brand, after eliminating most others of the same ilk, was gaining a firm foothold into the cockpits of political power. Thomas Maurice, the author, the finest product of the academics in this period in Britain, was gazing in wonderment at the results of the "Asiatic Researches" of his contemporary and mentor, Sir William Jones, burning his midnight oil in the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, for an ever widening research into the mosaic of Indian culture and its Sanskrit lore. The author had no wilful bias, no overweening prejudice for the benighted oriental in his besotted environment, no self-interest to further, but a firm commitment towards the true comprehension of the mystifying as well as incredibly advanced legacy of the Indian. Doubtless, he stumbled often and was not sure if some of the facets of the religious practices would carry conviction to a modern mind, but was never in doubt that its moorings were ever so resplendent and deserved the deepest application and understanding. The volumes he wrote from his well established perch in a western Greek and Latin nurtured think-tank which had examined the historical and cultural processes of West Asia, Europe and the Orient, from the multiplicity of original and

authentic sources he had access to as an archivist, often verifying facts with the credulity of a child, and often musing to himself that he may be right or wrong, and using a literary garb that was sometimes protestant, controversial and piquant, but not allowing certainly his own linguistic ken to demolish the traditional formulations of the Indian religion or intellectualism. The result was these finite volumes which lay bare what a Briton, without blinkers on, in the mid-late 18th century A.D. thought of the whole universal spectrum of culture of mankind, against the anvil of its Indian metamorphosis. No one could think of a better critical apparatus, more copious documentation, more persevering assessment and more candid lapses into error. If culture—and Indian culture is but an environmental facet of universal culture across the corridors of mankind's progress—is learning by trial and error and listening to what others think of us, here is a mine of informed commentary on the vicissitudes of culture, most salutary for any knowledgeable Indian to absorb, analyse and draw his own conclusions. A work deserving re-publication by any standards.

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PREFACE.

IN the year 1785, a singular phænomenon made its appearance, in the world of literature, under the title of BHAGVAT-GEETA or Dialogues of Creeshna and Arjoon. This production was asserted to be a translation by Mr Wilkins from a Sanscreet poem, denominated the MAHABBARAT, or Great War, of which poem it forms an episode, and the public were informed that it is believed in India to be of the venerable antiquity of four thousand years, and that it contained all the grand mysteries of the Hindoo Religion.

The GEETA was ushered into the world with all the importance which so invaluable a monument of Indian science seemed to merit: it was prefaced by a recommendatory letter from the Governor-General of Bengal to the Directors, and published at the expense of the Company. The profound theological

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and metaphysical doctrines which were inculcated in it, with the date to which it laid claim, roused the attention and excited the curiosity of the public, whose eyes about that period began, in a more particular manner, to be directed towards the history and literature of India. It fell into my hands at a period, when, from being engaged in writing upon a subject connected with an interesting period of Persian history, I had recently perused with attention the very learned work of Dr Hyde, "De Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum," and, as I thought I traced a surprising similitude in the theological systems of ZOROASTER and BRAHMA, particularly in the mutual veneration of the SUN and FIRE, I was gradually led on to that more accurate investigation and comparison of their principles, of which the Dissertation on the Religion of Hindostan is the result.

From considering the Religion, I passed, by an easy and natural transition, to an attentive consideration of the History, the Philosophy, and Literature, of this wonderful and remote race of men. The light, which so strongly radiates from the page of classical antiquity upon most other abstruse points of literary research,

search, cast but a glimmering ray on this obscure subject; and indeed its assertions were, in many instances, diametrically opposite to what, from the information of modern travellers of high repute, is known to be the fact. Whatever genuine information could possibly be obtained relative to India, its early history and literature seemed only to be acquired through the medium of faithful versions from the Sanscreet, the antient original language of the country, and the grand repository of all its history and sciences; but, unfortunately, at that period, there were only three gentlemen who were supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with it, viz. Sir William Jones, Mr Halhed, and Mr Wilkins.

Mr Halhed had already presented to the public that astonishing proof of the early wisdom of the Indians, and their extensive skill in jurisprudence, "the Code of Gentoo Laws," compiled at Benares, by a number of Brahmins assembled for the purpose by Mr Hastings, from the most antient Sanscreet treatises on the subject. The Code bears, indeed, strong internal evidence of the most profound antiquity, and in general by the investigator of the policy and manners of Oriental nations, as well as in particular by the historian of

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Indian events, must ever be considered as an invaluable acquisition. The veil that covered their theology, their metaphysics, and their jurisprudence, was thus happily removed.— Their ethics, or system of morals, remained still to be disclosed; and we wanted an undoubted original picture, faithfully drawn from life, of Indian habits and manners in the most antient periods of their empire.

Happily, to gratify the excited curiosity of the public, the grand desiderata were soon obtained. Mr Wilkins, who first sprang the mine, and has ever since been indefatigable in his efforts to bring to light the inestimable, but buried, treasures of Sanscreet literature, in 1787, published a translation of the HEETOPADES, or Amicable Instructions. This work, which Sir William Jones denominates "the most beautiful, if not the most antient, collection of apologues in the world," was originally written in Sanscreet, about eleven hundred years ago, by a venerable Brahmin of the name of Veeshnu-Sarma. So highly has the HEETOPADES been esteemed for the soundness of its moral precepts, the judicious maxims it inculcates for the regulation of human conduct, both in private and public station, and the beautiful simplicity of many

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of the allegories in which they are delivered, that, under other names, as the Fables of Pilpay, &c. &c. it has already been translated into more than twenty languages of Europe and Asia. In those translations, however, it has suffered much mutilation, as well as considerable distortion in its primitive feature of simplicity; and it is only in Mr Wilkins's almost literal version that we see the faithful portrait of the beautiful original.

In 1788, Sir William Jones published his Translation of SACONTALA, or the Fatal Ring, an Indian Drama, written by Calidas, an author of distinguished merit in that class of Indian literature, who flourished about a century before the commencement of the Christian æra. In this publication we find exhibited a genuine and lively portrait of Indian manners and sentiments, as they actually existed nearly two thousand years ago, and possibly at a period far more antient; since, according to the Brahmins, Dushmanta, the regal hero of the piece and husband of Sacontala, sate upon the throne of India above a thousand years before Christ; and it is probable that the poet would so far observe consistency as to endeavour to represent the manners of the age in which Dushmanta reigned.

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It is, indeed, a most valuable acquisition to the writer who would wish accurately to delineate those manners, and throws considerable light upon many points, relative to their customs and opinions, with which the antients were very superficially acquainted, and which they have, frequently, very grossly misrepresented. These *four publications* I have used as a sort of commentary to rectify what was false or elucidate what was obscure in Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Strabo, Philostratus, and Pliny; and I trust the following pages, in which their relations are contrasted, will evince both the minute attention and the unwearied diligence of the author, who first, in Europe, undertook the arduous task of comparing Sanscreet and Greek literature.

These various efforts, so worthy of a great and enlightened nation, to investigate the sciences, and develope the complicated annals of a people, concerning whom more has been WRITTEN, and less really KNOWN, than any other nation that antiently tenanted the vast regions of Asia, were accompanied by the most active and vigorous personal exertions, of a similar kind, upon the spot.—The palmyra-leaf, the papyrus, and even the inscribed vellum, will perish in a few revolving centuries;

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but the engraved tablet of copper or brass, and the solid column of marble, must, for a far more extended period, defy the corroding violence of time.——These were diligently sought for, not only in our own settlements in the East, but through all the extent of Hindostan, by that literary society of gentlemen established under the auspices of Sir William Jones, in Calcutta, denominated the Asiatic Society. The scientific labours of these gentlemen are displayed in that grand repository of Sanscreet information, the two volumes of ASIATIC RESEARCHES, which have successively arrived in this country, the ministry of which never did a more wise or prudent thing than when they sent out the great Orientalist, their president, to superintend the jurisprudence of those Asiatic provinces, the prevailing languages and manners of which were so familiarly known to him. The early efforts of that Society were crowned with signal success. The buried tablet has been dug from the bowels of the earth; the fallen and mouldering pillar has been reared; coins and medals, struck in commemoration of grand and important events, have been recovered from the sepulchral darkness of two thousand years; and the obsolete characters, engraved on their superficies, have,

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with immense toil, been deciphered and explained. It is by the increasing and concentrated light, which those precious remains throw upon the classic page, that the footsteps of the historian must be guided and his path through the obscure maze of antiquity illumined.

Abul Fazil, the learned Secretary of Akber, the most magnificent and powerful monarch that ever swayed the Indian sceptre, had previously, in the sixteenth century, by the most laudable and strenuous exertions, in some degree explored that path and penetrated that obscure maze. All the authority however of sovereign power, exercised in the mildest manner, and employed to promote the best purposes, by the most liberal of princes, added to the weight of influence, which his own distinguished talents and virtues gave him over the grateful race of Brahma, introduced that diligent investigator of Sanscreet antiquities little farther than to the threshold of the grand temple of Indian theology and science. Of the vigour and extent of the Secretary's researches, the AYEEN AKBERY, or Mirror of Akber, remains a wonderful proof; and Mr Gladwin, in obliging the Asiatic world with a version of that work, in 1783, has much contributed to mitigate the toil of the Indian Geographer

grapher and Annalist. The first volume of this Oriental performance treats rather of Mohammedan than Indian manners; of the arrangement of the court of Akber; and of the economy of his household. In the history of that emperor's reign it will be of infinite use, but was foreign to the subjects more immediately under discussion. Of the second volume, which contains the geography of the Soobahs, and a concise history of their several sovereigns, the reader will find in the following sheets so correct an abridgement as cannot fail highly to gratify his curiosity. Of the third volume, which treats of the astronomical conceits, the theological, metaphysical, and other scientific, speculations, as well as of the several degrees and numerous penances of the Hindoos, he will also find the substance interspersed throughout the body of these extended Dissertations.

The great work of the MAHABBARAT, now translating by Mr Wilkins, and of which Abul Fazil himself antiently gave a Persian version, not being, as yet, in the possession of the public, I can only, for the present, submit to that public the epitome of its contents, which is prefixed to Ferishtah's History of Hindostan, compared throughout, with great diligence, with the Persian Annals of Mirkhond, with

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the Tartar History of Abulgazi Bahadur, and such other Oriental Histories as are in my possession, of which the number is not small; nor have they been procured by the author without infinite labour and research, or heavy and accumulated expense. This chasm, however, shall hereafter be filled up, and the reader will, I trust, find the dark period and events, to which that voluminous detail bears reference, as satisfactorily elucidated, as I flatter myself he will the obscure history of the AVATARS themselves, *or the ten descents of Veeshnu.* During these inquiries into the remotest historical antiquities of Asia, as I have constantly kept the Sacred Volumes and the invaluable fragments of Chaldæan History by Berosus before me, with all that Bishop Cumberland, Stanley, Hyde, Athanasius Kircher, and others, have written upon the Phœnicians, Chaldæans, Persians, and Egyptians; and, as I have diligently contrasted them with the latter and more profound disquisitions of Sir William Jones, in the Asiatic Researches, relative to the origin and early history of those nations, I trust, I shall not be thought presumptuous for offering a decisive opinion with respect to that remote period, and those apparently fabulous events. I consider the whole as only a corruption of

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antient Chaldæan history and tradition, and therefore have referred the incidents of the GREAT WAR recorded in the Mahabbarat, and all the romantic accounts, given in the same volume, of the battles of the Indian SOORS and ASSOORS; that is, the good and evil Genii, to the contests of the sons of Shem and Ham for the empire of the infant-world. In short, I have the most confident hope of being able to DEMONSTRATE, as I proceed, that the wars of the Giants and Titans of other nations are known in India under that denomination; and the evidence which I shall adduce of the wonderful similitude between the primitive theology and manners of the Chaldæans and Indians will, I trust, materially serve to confute the romantic ideas that have gone forth into the world of the unfathomable antiquity of the Hindoos, and of the ark of Noah resting upon the Indian Caucasus, instead of Mount Baris in Armenia.

After having read with laborious attention whatever has been written concerning India by the Persian and Arabian historians, of whom we have been favoured with elegant Latin versions by Pocock, Erpenius, Golius, Hudson, Reiske, and other great Oriental scholars, I sate down to the serious re-perusal and ex-

amination of what the antient authors, esteemed classical, had delivered in relation to that country; but, from the little I already knew of its native history, I soon found their accounts, for the most part, to be replete with misconception, if not with gross error. PORUS, or rather POURAVA, (for that, Sir W. Jones has informed me, was the real name of the undaunted opposer of the great Alexander,) the reigning rajah of a country, called the PANJAB, from the five rivers that water it, seems to have been universally mistaken for the Supreme Monarch of India, to whom, probably, that prince was only one, though not the least formidable, among many tributary princes; and the subjugation of a province of that mighty empire was, with the usual vanity of the Greeks, magnified into the conquest of India. By comparing, however, the relations of the Greek and Roman writers with those of FERISHTAH, and the other Oriental historians, of whom a list of those in my possession is added to this preface, I gradually obtained that knowledge of the antient history and manners of the Indians, which I have attempted to exhibit in the volumes which will successively solicit the attention of the indulgent public. Had there been any work at that

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time published, or had I known of any work intended to be published, that promised to include the antient and modern history of India, according both to Sanscreet and classical writers, and present to the reader a comprehensive view of the wonderful transactions performed, during the period of near four thousand years, on that grand theatre, I should never have ventured upon an undertaking at once so arduous and so hazardous.

As soon as I had formed the resolution, in the best manner I might be able, to supply that defect, I communicated my intention to Sir William Jones, in India, with whose friendship I was honoured at an early period of life, and who returned me such an answer as encouraged me both to proceed with vigour and to aspire with ardour. He was at the same time so obliging as to impart a few hints for the conduct of the work, which I have anxiously endeavoured to follow. I likewise submitted the Proposals for my intended History to the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, accompanied with a Letter, in which I took an extensive survey of the great outlines of that history. Nothing could be more flattering to an infant-undertaking than the applause which that Letter procured

me from the most respectable quarters: and, indeed, as a proof that the distinguished body of men, to whom it was addressed, thought that the author had exerted laborious assiduity in the investigation of the obscure subject which he professed to elucidate, an immediate answer was returned, and *forty sets* of the History subscribed for.

I frankly own to the candid reader that I knew not, at the time, the full extent and magnitude of the undertaking in which I had embarked. At my very entrance into the grand historic field, through the whole ample circuit of which it became necessary for me to range, a field over-run with exotic and luxuriant vegetation, such a prospect unfolded itself, as, I confess, at once disheartened and terrified me. Such a variety of complicated and profound subjects pressed for discussion, before the way could be sufficiently cleared for an entrance upon the immediate path of History; so deeply were the wild fables of Indian Mythology blended with the authentic annals of regular History; that the *proper* execution of the arduous work seemed to demand the exertion of abilities, as well as the command of fortune, to which I could by no means lay claim. It soon occurred to me, that, instead of the

solitary exertions of an individual of moderate talents, of confined and precarious income, with no powerful patron in the high and splendid circles of life to protect, and no opulent private connections vigorously to promote, the work, the completion of so extensive a plan as that laid down by myself required the united efforts of some considerable literary society, combining a splendid assemblage of genius and erudition, and embodied for the purpose, with every public library in the kingdom at their service, and, I might add, the public treasury also at their command. The stupendous system of the BRAHMIN CHRONOLOGY, extending back through millions of years; the obstinate denial of a GENERAL DELUGE by those Brahmins; the perplexing doctrine of a TRINITY IN THE DIVINE NATURE, for ever occuring in the operations of the grand Indian Triad of Deity, Brahma, Veeshnu, and Seeva, a doctrine not to be traced to any immediate connection with the Jewish nation, yet more conspicuous in India than even in the *Triple Mithra* of Persia, and *the Globe, the Wing, and the Serpent*, which, according to Kircher, formed the Trinity of Egypt; these were among the numerous, the delicate, and abstruse, topics, which neither the

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clerical nor historical function in which I had engaged would allow of being passed over in silence.

I had not, at first, formed the remotest conception, that, to enter into the spirit of the Antient Sanscreet History of India, or to render that history intelligible to the reader, it would be necessary to engage in the deepest astronomical speculations of the Oriental world; yet, as I advanced in my inquiries, I found that kind of knowledge to be indispensable; for, in fact, the primeval histories of all the antient empires of the earth amount to little more than the romantic dreams of astronomical mythology. This is particularly evident in Hindostan, from the two great and most antient rajah-families being denominated SURYA-BANS and CHANDRA-BANS, or Children of the Sun and Moon.

I have entered farther into these astronomical disquisitions than my friends may think was either necessary, or, in regard to the sale of my book, *prudent*; but this particular subject was intimately connected with others of a higher nature and more momentous research.—The daring assertions of certain sceptical French philosophers with respect to the Age of the World, whose arguments I have attempted

attempted to refute, arguments principally founded on the high assumptions of the Brahmins and other Eastern nations, in point of chronology and astronomy, could their extravagant claims be substantiated, have a direct tendency to overturn the Mosaic system, and, with it, Christianity. I have, therefore, with what success the reader must hereafter determine, laboured to invalidate those claims, with all the persevering assiduity which a hearty belief in the truth of the former, and an unshaken attachment, not merely professional, to the latter, system, could not fail of exciting and animating. While engaged in those inquiries, the fortunate arrival of the second volume of the Asiatic Researches, with the various dissertations, on the subject, of Sir William Jones, and of Mr Davis, who has unveiled the astronomical mysteries of the famous SURYA SIDDHANTA, the most antient Sanscreet treatise on that science, enabled me to pursue with satisfaction, with security, and, I trust, to demonstration, the plan which I had previously formed, and upon which alone the difficulty can be solved.

Guided by such indisputable authorities, I trust I have proved, in the first volume of my History, that the personages, who are said to

have flourished so many thousand years in the earliest ages, were of celestial, not terrestrial, origin; that their empire was the empire of imagination in the skies, not of real power on this globe of earth; that the day and year of Brahma, and the day and year of mortals, are of a nature widely different; that the whole jargon of the YUGS, or grand periods, and consequently all those presumptuous assertions of the Brahmins, relative to the earth's antiquity, have no foundation but in the great solar and lunar cycles, or planetary revolutions; and that CHALDÆA, and not INDIA, was the parent-country of mankind. In proof of this last assertion, I have produced a few remarkable instances which evince the primitive languages of Chaldæa and India not to be greatly dissimilar; that the name ADIM may be traced to the Sanscreet root, ADAM, or *the first*; that in the prophetic and regal title of MENU of India may be recognized the patriarch Noah; that their great hero BALI, an appellative synonymous with the Bel, or Baal, of their neighbours, is no other than Belus; and that all the prodigies of valour and wisdom fabled of the renowned DIONYSIUS of India, if true, are only true of Rama, the son of Cush. Whatsoever partial objections may be urged against the

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system thus adopted by me, I am convinced that it is the only basis upon which any solid history of Antient India can be founded; and every fresh inquiry confirms me in that opinion.

Among the various kinds of evidence hereafter adduced in corroboration of my idea, I have appealed to one particular species, of a nature equally curious and remote from common investigation. If it happen that Criticism should point any severe strictures on that portion of my work, I shall think myself exceedingly ill repaid for literary toil, which cost me many nights of painful vigil, and which, from the intense application I was compelled to bestow upon the subject, materially injured my health. It was an attentive and accurate inspection of the Solar and Lunar Zodiacs of India, inserted in the same valuable collection, the former consisting, like that of Egypt and Greece, of *twelve* constellations, similar in order and designation, except in the signs of Virgo and Gemini, and the latter of *twenty-seven*, resembling the MANAZIL-AL-KAMAR of the Arabians, that first suggested to me the hypothesis upon which I have bestowed indefatigable pains, and which I shall now cursorily unfold.

That the "antient history of the illustrious families of Greece, during the poetical ages, might be read in the heavens" was the opinion of the late Mr Costard, one of the most profound Oriental astronomers ever born out of Asia. But it is a fact notorious, and allowed by all proficients in that noble and wonderful science, that the Greeks, although they carried astronomy to a surprising height of improvement, were not the inventors of it. They borrowed from the Egyptians their knowledge of its principles; and, in their wild ambition to have themselves considered by posterity as the most antient nation on earth, and their country as the sole fountain of the arts and sciences, they adapted to the constellations, *already formed*, the various parts of their own fabulous history. Sir Isaac Newton, indeed, in his least perfect work, "the Chronology of antient Kingdoms amended," has affirmed, that Chiron first formed the sphere for the use of the Argonauts; but even a name so highly and deservedly eminent as Newton's cannot sanction a palpable error. Dr Rutherforth, in one of the most ingenious productions on the subject of natural philosophy that ever was published, has in the clearest manner evinced, that the constellations,

tions, delineated on the sphere, though apparently allusive to the Argonautic expedition, could not possibly be the fabrication of Chiron, or any other Grecian, for that purpose; since the greatest part of the stars in the constellation Argo, and, in particular, Canopus, the brightest of them, were not visible in any part of Greece; and no astronomer would be so absurd as to delineate constellations to direct the course of a vessel, the principal stars in which "could not be seen by the mariners, either when they set out, or when they came to the end of their voyage."* Although, undoubtedly, many of the figures of the constellations have the appearance of being antient Egyptian hieroglyphics, yet, that at least those of the Zodiac could not be of genuine Egyptian origin, among other evident proofs which will be hereafter adduced by me, one or two only shall be stated at present. In the first place, they are not adapted to the order in which the seasons succeeded each other in Egypt. For instance, the sign Virgo, which is represented by a young female, with ears of ripened corn in her hand, evidently points to the

* I shall, hereafter, have occasion to cite this curious passage of Dr Rutherforth more at length. It is in the second volume of the quarto Edition, page 850, Cambridge, 1748.

the season of the harvest. Such, in fact, it is in most countries when the sun enters into that sign, that is, in September; but, in Egypt, where the fertility of the country depends upon the annual overflowings of the Nile, and where consequently the concerns of agriculture are both managed on different principles and directed by peculiar local regulations, the period of the harvest is in March; or rather, as Pliny has recorded it, *paulo ante Calendas Aprilis.** The same argument forcibly applies to the sign Aquarius, by which are meant the chilling rains of the bleak winter-season; whereas hardly any rain at all falls in Egypt, and their winter is the finest season. Hence it is evident, that the Egyptians could not have been the inventors of a form and order of the constellations inapplicable to their own climate, but must have brought a sphere, already fabricated for the use of agriculture and navigation, from some primeval country inhabited by them, before their migration to the banks of the Nile; and that primeval country, we are informed from the most sacred authority, was CHALDÆA.

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. cap. xlvii. Aldi edit.

Impressed, therefore, with ideas on the subject, similar to those that swayed Mr Costard's mind; but, at the same time, convinced that the "history to be read in the heavens" neither alluded to the Grecian, nor wholly to the Egyptian, mythology, I have adventurously launched into a new region of historical investigation, and have attempted to give, from the ample and recording tablet of the skies, the real history of the first grand family of the post-diluvian world. I have commenced the history of the antient sovereigns of Hindostan, that is, of the children of the sun and moon, from the ætherial region whence they probably emanated; and a comparison, which I have been enabled to make, of all the Oriental zodiacs, solar and lunar, that could be procured by my researches into books of antiquity, fully corroborates the system upon which I have proceeded. Indeed, so wide has been the range I have found myself compelled to take, of such an extensive nature were the subjects that continually rose and demanded elucidation, that, in the former part of the work, I seemed to be under the necessity of writing, not so much the History of Hindostan, AS THE HISTORY OF ASIA ITSELF, AND OF THE HUMAN RACE IN THEIR INFANT STATE.

Without taking this enlarged retrospect of antient periods, the early history of an empire, undoubtedly one of the first established upon earth, blended as that history is with theological and astronomical speculations, and involved as it is in that of Assyria and Persia, would be totally unintelligible.

While Dr Rutherforth combats the assertion of Sir Isaac Newton, that Chiron formed the first sphere for the use of the Argonauts in their voyage to Colchis, he yet allows, that many of the constellations of the Grecian, that is (as Mr Costard in another treatise has proved) the Chaldæan, sphere, apparently allude to that event; but then he thinks they were fabricated at a period *subsequent* to its completion, and were intended only as *memorials* of it. With respect to the event itself, Mr Bryant, in the second volume of his Analysis of antient Mythology, has offered very substantial arguments to evince that it never took place at all, and that the whole story originally arose from some misapprehended traditions relative *to the ark of Noah*, and the sacred personages that attended him on the most important voyage ever recorded. Had Mr Bryant more frequently directed his attention to that Persian and Arabian literature which

which Mr Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners, of Eastern Nations, seems to think he treated with too much contempt, he might have derived a surprising support to his assertions from many of their astronomical productions. For instance, in Dr Hyde's translation of ULUG BEG's tables of the fixed stars, the sign ARGO is simply called STELLA NAVIS, that is, *the constellation of* THE SHIP; and there is reason to suppose, that, in naming the stars, the royal astronomer of Persia followed some very antient astronomical tables, known in his own country; since, had he copied those of Ptolemy, he would have denominated it, after that writer, *Αργυς αστερισμος*, the asterism of Argo.

Mr Bryant has slightly mentioned, from this author, that, by Orion, the Persians usually understood Nimrod, and that *an altar* formed part of the antient sphere; but he might have gone farther than this, and, in the signs of the zodiac, and the constellations of the Southern hemisphere in particular, have discovered many other striking circumstances relative to the early post-diluvian ages. The ample notes, which Dr Hyde has added to this work of ULUG BEG, upon every one of the

the forty-eight constellations, into which the antients divided the visible heavens, with the enumeration of their several Oriental appellations in Chaldee, Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic, with large extracts from the writings of various Asiatic astronomers, exhibit an inestimable treasure of intelligence in this line of science, which seems never before to have been sufficiently attended to by the Eastern antiquary or the historian of Asiatic events. Surely, if the antient Greeks had the *policy* to adapt their mythologic details to constellations totally irrelative to their history, the moderns should have the *honesty* to restore to the Chaldæans what it is evident originally belonged to them, and what I am of opinion can be proved to allude to the primitive history of mankind. The whole of the fifteen Southern constellations, probably the first delineated on the celestial sphere, appear to me to afford an illustrative commentary upon, and to yield decisive testimony to, the truth of THE TEN FIRST CHAPTERS OF GENESIS. For, in memorial of what other events, except of those important ones that engrossed the grateful admiration of the post-diluvian fathers of mankind, were placed in the heavens, first, the constellation of NAVIS, or *the ship*;

ship; secondly, ARA, or *the altar*, with its vast body of fire and smoke ascending near the Triangle, the remarkable Egyptian symbol of Deity; thirdly, the SACRIFICER, whom the Greeks (for a reason which I shall hereafter explain) denominated Chiron, the centaur; fourthly, the BEAST about to be sacrificed, improperly called *lupus*, since Ptolemy uses the term Θηριος, and the Arabian appellative of the constellation is translated *fera* by Dr Hyde; fifthly, CORVUS, or *the raven*; sixthly, CRATER, or the *cup of libation*, called by the Egyptians *crater beneficus Osiridis*, and I trust that no truth can be more indisputably proved than that which I have laboured to establish in the following pages, that Osiris and NOAH are the same. Seventhly, eightly, and ninthly, with respect to the CANIS MAJOR, the CANIS MINOR, and LEPUS, that is, the *greater* and *lesser dog*, and *the hare*, situated so near to Orion, the great and iniquitous hunter both of men and beasts, I shall take the liberty of inserting the illustrative words of my author himself. Dr Hyde tells us, the Jews called this constellation Gibbor, that is, *gigas*, *the giant*. He then adds, *Propter duas Canes et Leporem quæ sunt in viciniâ, poetæ fabulati Oriona fuisse venationis studiosum: isque, in cœlo existens, fu-*

 erit

erit sicut Nimrod, Gibbor Sajid, i. e., Gigas, seu Potens venatione coram Domino. In this place I cannot but dissent from Dr Hyde, and think there is far more truth than *fable* in the supposition that Orion and Nimrod mean the same person. The whole of the remaining constellations of the Southern hemisphere are composed of *aquatic* objects or animals, and may be considered as pointedly allusive to a GENERAL DELUGE, *at least* as pointedly as any of the others can be *to the expedition of the Argonauts.*

So far Dr Hyde, in his profound astronomical commentary upon Ulug Beg, was of use to guide my adventurous step through this dangerous ground, as far as I know, untrodden before; and from this author, and the elegant version of the astronomy of Alfraganus, by the learned Golius, I acquired such a knowledge of the Persian and Arabian astronomy as enabled me to proceed with increasing confidence in this complicated inquiry. The Egyptians, however, who, during the revolution of so many centuries, devoted themselves to the study of this science, and who were so universally celebrated as the most expert astronomers in the antient world, appeared to merit still more attentive exami-

nation.

nation. Fortunately, in the second volume of Kircher's Œdipus Ægyptiacus, there is preserved that invaluable relic of antiquity, the antient sphere of the philosophic progeny of Mizraim, in many of the fabulous characters and hieroglyphic delineations engraved upon it, totally different from that of the Chaldæans, but still bearing each to the other such a general feature of similitude, as to demonstrate their originating in the fertile invention of the same race, and their correspondence to the early events of one common country. In my observations upon this sphere, I have remarked, that, though Kircher might be, in some instances, what Warburton represents him, a learned visionary, yet, as he was indefatigable in procuring, from every quarter, the hieroglyphic symbols of Egyptian knowledge, their genuineness may be depended on when his conjectures possibly may not. I shall not, however, prolong these pages by dwelling at present on any particular instances that might be brought to illustrate the foregoing assertion, but shall pass on to the cursory consideration of one or two remarkable circumstances that struck my eye in reviewing the solar and lunar zodiacs of India: in the former of which there is, in my opinion,

a strong corroborative testimony of the deluge. It is in the sign of Virgo, who, as Sir William Jones observes on that zodiac, "is drawn, standing on a boat in water, holding in one hand a lamp and in the other an ear of rice-corn;"* circumstances which equally recall to our remembrance the Egyptian Isis and the Eleusinian Ceres, with the nocturnal gloom in which their rites were celebrated, as they do the awful event, which I have united my humble efforts with Mr Bryant to prove those rites depicted.† With respect to the NACSHATRA, or Mansions of the Moon, which form the Lunar Zodiac, it is possible that the argument I have brought to prove that this very curious mode of measuring out the heavens, so totally foreign to, and unknown in, all the systems of European astronomy, originated among the astronomers of India, may be thought decisive: viz. that it could not be *borrowed* from Chaldæa or Arabia, because the Lunar Zodiac of India consists, and ever did consist, of twenty-seven mansions only; while, according to Costard, that of Chaldæa, and, according to Hyde, that of Arabia, have ever contained twenty-eight mansions: besides the

* See the Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 292.

† See vol. ii. of these Dissertations.

curious

curious catalogue of animals and objects, almost all of them peculiar to India, by which those mansions are distinguished, such as the head and teeth of the elephant, sacred conques, an instrument used in their temples, and *Indian tabors*, affords additional proof of this assertion. One, however, of the asterisms of that zodiac is not so peculiarly Indian, since we find among the number *an oblation to the gods*, noticed before; which I as firmly believe to be allusive to the offering of Noah when he descended from the ark, as I am convinced the *two-faced image*, delineated on another, does to Noah himself, the only true *Janus Bifrons* of the antient world. However, in my history of the three first Indian Avatars, I have been able to adduce far more decisive evidence, relative to the general deluge, than can be collected from any symbols or displayed in any hieroglyphics whatsoever.

One principal inducement, next to the higher motives, explained above, for entering into this wide astronomical range, was the anxious wish by this means to throw light upon the obscure annals and involved chronology of antient India, an object which has been effectually obtained by it. To that important point I have directed all the scattered rays

of information which I could collect in the course of these researches; and, although I have by this means been enabled, I trust successfully, to combat the claims of the Brahmins to such stupendous antiquity as that insisted on by them, yet have I not neglected, at the same time, to substantiate every just and well-founded claim the Hindoos can urge to superiority, either in regard to their early civilization, or their rapid progress to perfection in arts and sciences, when those assumptions do not militate against all the received opinions and traditions of mankind. Notwithstanding their absurd geographical notions which the reader will find exhibited, from Sanscreet authority, in a future page of this volume, yet there is every reason, from the doctrine of the seven superior BOBUNS, or purifying spheres, through which they supposed the transmigrating soul to pass; and from the CIRCULAR DANCE, in which, according to Lucian, in his Treatise de Saltatione, they worshipped the orb of the Sun; to believe they had, in the most early periods, discovered that the earth in form was *spherical*, and that the *planets revolved round the sun*. Besides the knowledge of the true solar system, which Pythagoras most probably learned

learned in India, there is every reason to think that they were acquainted with spherical trigonometry, and that something very much like the Newtonian system of attraction and gravitation was known among them. Indeed, Sir William Jones seems to confirm this, when he informs us, that "the works of YAVAN ACHARYA are said to include a system of the universe, founded on the principle of ATTRACTION and the CENTRAL position of the sun," which I think it is far more likely Pythagoras learned of this philosopher in India than this Brahmin of Pythagoras in Greece; for, to have gone thither, he must have renounced the self-sufficient character of that haughty tribe and have violated a leading precept of the religion and policy of Brahma. This very early knowledge of the great fundamental principles of astronomy seems to be incontestably proved by a passage, which immediately follows in the third discourse of Sir William Jones, "that the names of the planets and zodiacal stars, which the Arabs borrowed from the Greeks, are found in the oldest Indian records."* In short, while I have anxiously endeavoured to do justice to the su-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 430.

perior claims to credit of the Mosaic system, I have been careful not to do the Brahmins injustice. I have that kind of partiality which every historian possesses for the nation whose history he is probably induced by that very partiality to record; but, I trust, it has seldom misguided my judgement and in no instances falsified my narration.

Our path, thus cleared through the mazes of antient astronomical mythology, and the history of the TEN AVATARS, or descents of Veeshnu in a human form, which seem to be of a similar nature with the TEN SARI of Chaldæa, and the TEN SEPHIROTH of the Hebrews, extensively explained, the serious body of classical history will commence towards the middle of the first volume, with an account of the successive irruptions of the Assyrians, the Persians, and Grecians, into that beautiful country, the delightful survey of which has, in every age of the world, awakened the envy, inflamed the jealousy, and stimulated the avarice, of neighbouring despots. The alternate operation of these base and degrading passions has too frequently contributed to cover the most fertile plains which Asia can boast with sterility, and deluge them with the blood

of

of the innocent natives. Of the plan upon which this portion of the ensuing history, taken from the classical writers of Greece and Rome, and the Persian and Arabian historians, will be conducted, an ample prospectus is given in my Letter to the Directors of 1790: to that Letter I must refer the reader, and he will there find an abridged account of most of the authors, Oriental and European, cited in the course of the History. I have neglected no means in my power of making this work a complete analysis of Indian history. I have penetrated to the fountain-head of all authentic intelligence which concerns that region, and, commencing my narrative at the remotest known æra of great national events, have brought it down to the latest that can at all deserve the notice of regular history; even from that Semiramis, whom Diodorus describes as pouring her millions upon its ravaged frontiers, to that disastrous moment, when, according to the recent relations of Mr Frazer and Sir W Jones, the sanguinary usurper of the throne of the SEFI's planted the standard of Persia upon the battlements of DELHI.

To an undertaking thus comprehensive in its design and important in regard to its objects,

objects, an undertaking generally allowed to be, at this moment, *a desideratum in literature*, it might naturally have been expected, that not only the Court of Directors themselves, who, in fact, manifested by their resolution so early and so flattering an attention to the address of the author, but that all those gentlemen in their service, or otherwise, who from situation or connection could not be indifferent to Indian concerns, would have extended their powerful support and patronage.

It was not unreasonable to suppose that the man of business would be interested by the faithful detail professed to be given of commercial transactions during so many revolving centuries, and that the man of letters would be induced decidedly to support a production recommended by a circumstance equally novel and gratifying; that *in one work, of small expense*, was to be combined the substance of all the most esteemed Persian and Arabian historians upon the subject, of whose productions correct and elegant versions have been yet presented to the public; productions mouldering upon the shelves of public libraries, or deposited in the inaccessible museums of learned individuals; productions

equally

equally high in value and difficult to be procured.

For myself, conscious that I had, by continued inquiry, by extensive reading, and intense application, endeavoured to prepare myself for the important task in which I had engaged, I too eagerly indulged those sanguine expectations of success which were entertained by the private circle of my friends. Enjoying from nature a very ample portion of those high and volatile spirits, which as they are often in early youth the occasion of many errors, afterwards regretted, so in riper years they too frequently buoy up with false hopes the deluded imagination, I suffered those spirits to betray me into the most fatal delusions. I exulted in the fair prospect that a life early marked by the vicissitudes of fortune, or rather continually passed in the extremes of gay hope and gloomy disappointment, as it approached its meridian, was likely to be cheered with the dawn of success and a share of probable independance; that some moiety of the public applause would be the consequence of incessant efforts to merit it, and that an adequate portion of emolument would be the reward of severe literary toil. I therefore embarked in the purchase

of

of the various books, charts, and engravings, necessary for the composition or elucidation of my work, a considerable part of a small fortune, which fell to me by the untimely death of a near and beloved relative, and, as I was settled in the country, remote from the convenience of a public library, and was constantly in want of many expensive publications in regard to India, which, indeed, from their recent date no public library could furnish, I continued to accumulate expenses of this kind, till a sense of prudence compelled me to resort to the bookseller to know the result of the distribution of my proposals and the publication of my advertisements. Let it for ever repress the ardour of romantic ambition and the enthusiastic dreams of authors unknown to fame, and unprotected by patrons invested with the ensigns of power and stationed at the helm of political eminence, that, in the course of twelve months, THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN, a work sanctioned by the approbation of THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY in England and SIR WILLIAM JONES in India, was able to obtain only *a dozen* subscribers!—It was not, however, a little flattering to the author, that amongst that number of unsolicited subscribers was the

the Marquis of Landsdown, who sent an agent to inquire concerning the author, and to express his Lordship's hope that "so meritorious a work might not sink for want of proper support." His Lordship could only form a judgement of its possible merit from my Letter to the Directors; of which I printed a thousand, at the expense of Forty Pounds, and have since been obliged to distribute them *gratis*.

However deeply wounded were my feelings at this, I trust, unmerited neglect, especially from those high and eminent persons, to whom I was from good authority informed that a History of Hindostan, upon an enlarged and comprehensive scale, would be of all things the most acceptable; they were still more deeply goaded, when, unwilling to venture farther in an undertaking that seemed to threaten total ruin to any individual, two or three of the most respectable booksellers, to whom I immediately offered my work, declined having any thing to do with a production which, it was predicted, the superior pen and the transcendent abilities of Dr Robertson would not fail to crush in the embryo.

To names exalted into celebrity by the veneration of vulgar ignorance and the clamour of popular admiration, always *violent* but seldom *just*, the mind, accustomed to think independently and liberally, disdains to pay unmerited homage. But to a name so deservedly eminent as that of Dr Robertson, I bow with submission proportioned to the real respect which I entertain for his writings and his virtues. Had his Historical Disquisition at all appeared to me to render unnecessary an undertaking, proposed to be conducted on a far more extensive scale, I should certainly have paid that deference to *him*, which I deem it not necessary to pay to others, and have relinquished the field to so able a writer of History. But, since our undertakings can by no means be said to clash, and are executed on principles widely different, I trust my perseverance will not be imputed to improper vanity nor mistaken for idle competition. The field is open to all, and the range is ample. If it should not be in my power to obtain the first laurel, a second, and no ignoble palm, may yet be mine.

Disappointed in my hopes and injured in my property, my work treated with contempt by some and with neglect by others, I still

relaxed

relaxed not from the vigorous prosecution of it. I felt that the active spark of honest ambition, enkindled in my mind, was far from being extinguished; nor was I entirely deserted, at this trying crisis, by those constitutional spirits which I have sometimes found to rise in proportion to the urgency of adversity; and which, amidst the various scenes of a chequered life, have often enabled me to trample on greater difficulties than even these.

In spite therefore of menaced ruin both to reputation and fortune, I determined to persevere; and, commencing those strenuous exertions, which I had hitherto neglected to make, in the hope that a work, so generally deemed a Desideratum, would make its own way, the scene became suddenly and agreeably changed. The friends who yet remained to me at Oxford were not deficient in their endeavours to serve me; and I was repeatedly told to look to the Seat of Science for that support with which it was humbly hoped an effort in literature would be honoured. The instant that my views were candidly stated, and the real object of this historical investigation came to be more generally known, I had no reason to complain of a want of due

encouragement

encouragement from men of learning and distinction.

Dr WETHERELL, the Master of University-College, ever anxious to promote the interest of those who have been educated at the College over which he has so long and honourably presided, on my application to him, readily and warmly espoused the cause of my book. I had soon the happiness of proving that characters so eminent in the path of genius and erudition, as are Dr PARR and Sir WILLIAM SCOTT, were by no means indifferent to the success of their former pupil; since they at once animated my desponding mind by commendation, and, by their personal exertions, promoted the success of my work. The result of these united efforts of my friends, to prevent a publication, which they thought meritorious, from being entirely laid aside, is evident in the respectable, though not numerous, list of subscribers with which I was honoured; which, however defective in names, celebrated in the records of Indian fame, who disdain to be instruced concerning India from Britain, contains many illustrious by rank, eminent in talents, and distinguished by private worth. They are indeed such names as must reflect lustre on any publication, and it shall be the

unceasing

unceasing study of my life to merit such exalted patronage.

In respect to the general neglect with which the undertaking, in which I have embarked, has had the misfortune to be treated by those gentlemen, to whom, from their connection with that country, it might be supposed, a History of India, upon a more extended basis than what I originally proposed, would be highly acceptable; it is far from my wish to think with sentiments of acrimony or retort the language of contempt. Were I indeed inclined to *retaliate*, opportunity might not be wanting, in the future pages of this History, to launch forth into the usual strain of inflamed invective against the enormities asserted to have been committed in India, by certain characters, equally hostile to literature and freedom, who are *supposed* to have grown rich by the plunder, and splendid by the beggary and massacre, of their fellow-creatures. By an author inclined to indulge a satirical vein, an infinite deal of eloquence might again be displayed in painting a vast continent deluged with blood, and in bemoaning the untimely fate of millions expiring in the pangs of artificial famine. Eloquence and truth, however, do not always unite in the same

 page.

page. Whatever real foundation there may be for believing that some dark transactions of this kind have taken place in India, in those remote regions where the restraining arm of the supreme executive power could less effectually check extortion, and where the disinterested generosity of a late chief governor could be less conspicuously visible; it is a fact notoriously evident that these accounts have, in many respects, been enormously magnified. This work will be conducted upon principles very dissimilar from those which disseminate calumny and point invective. I have declared, in my neglected Letter to the Directors, that I will endeavour to fulfil the character of "AN UPRIGHT AND IMPARTIAL HISTORIAN, TOTALLY FREE FROM THE VIOLENCE OF PARTY, WITHOUT THE TEMPORISING SERVILITY THAT DISGUSTS, AND THE INTEMPERATE ARDOUR THAT OFFENDS." It is my intention steadily and invariably to adhere to that line of conduct; and, though usurpation and tyranny, arrayed in imperial purple and gorgeous in the spoil of nations, ought never to enjoy their ill-gotten grandeur uncensured by the warning voice of history, that censure should be manly, open, decisive, and pointed rather against the offence

offence than the individual. In fact, however, during the extensive review which I have been obliged to take of the successive transactions of Persians, Tartars, Venetians, Portugueze, Dutch, French, and English, with the Indians; the proceedings of the latter, except in the instance of a few daring and unprincipled individuals, whose extortions no incorporated assembly of merchants, however inflexibly virtuous themselves, can ever wholly prevent, have appeared to me to be by far the most candid, the most upright, and the most irreproachable. Such are my real sentiments, and I unfold them without the remotest idea of flattering or offending any creature breathing, either in Asia or Europe.

I am willing to believe that this neglect has arisen from the apparent plausibility of an argument, which either jealous competition or inventive malevolence has thought proper to advance in regard to this undertaking, with far more pertinacity than truth. What, these rash calumniators have urged, either novel or interesting, can possibly be expected from an author who has never visited the remote region which he professes to describe; who has never on the spot examined the annals he undertakes to detail; nor conversed with the

people whose history and manners he records? To this objection I trust the following, with every candid mind, will be a sufficient answer.

It was the good fortune of M. SONNERAT and M. NIEBUHR to have visited, in person, the scenes which their accurate and entertaining volumes describe; but they travelled with peculiar advantages, and at the expense of *royal munificence**. What they saw they faithfully described; and mankind are highly indebted to them for their labours, nor have I in particular failed to profit by them; but let it be remembered that a knowledge of Indian Antiquities was not to be gained by a transient visit to the traders on the coast of Coromandel or Malabar; nor, had it been possible to penetrate even to BENARES, are the Brahmins of that celebrated university able fully to explain the principles of their own theology and sciences. This is particularly true in regard

* The numerous and explanatory engravings, in the expensive volumes of these travellers, have infinitely contributed towards the elucidation of the Indian Antiquities. Without those of Niebuhr, it would have been impossible to have given any correct idea of the figures at Salsette and Elephanta; and, without those of M. Sonnerat, the History of the Ten Avatars would have been scarcely intelligible. I have presented my subscribers with one beautiful plate from each of those writers.

to

to their astronomy, since they are ignorant of the right application of those stupendous instruments, described so accurately by Sir Robert Barker, in the Philosophical Transactions. Besides, when we daily meet with so many who have penetrated even into the regions of Upper Hindostan, who both know so little and have written so absurdly about India, this objection, methinks, should have been urged with somewhat more caution and temper. Upon the whole, therefore, nothing could be more unjust or cruel, than for these ungenerous critics, on so slender a foundation, prematurely to condemn and decry a work, of the composition of which they must be utterly unable, from a superficial survey, to comprehend either the arduous toil or the complicated difficulty. However, I trust, in vindication of my own injured reputation, and the persevering zeal of my friends, that in every page of the following work the reader will find a better answer to this objection than any in my power in this place to produce.

There is likewise another objection which has been urged against this work, and from the consideration of which I will not shrink. "The author," it has been said, "is not acquainted with the Asiatic languages." On

this subject, let the words of Sir W. Jones be remembered, that " languages are not *science*, but only the *medium* through which science is conveyed." This remark comes with peculiar force from an author, who is, perhaps, the greatest master of languages in the world; and if correct versions, such as those with which himself and Mr Wilkins have obliged the public, from the Sanscreet, and such as Pocock, Golius, and Greaves, have given us of Persian and Arabian historians, can be procured, who is there that would waste the vigour of life in the learning of languages, from which, after all, the information to be reaped will scarcely compensate the toil? Could translations to be depended upon be obtained in so extensive a degree as I may require for the conduct of this History, I can assure the reader that the hieroglyphic characters in which Eastern literature is veiled, for me, should remain undisturbed. That not being entirely the case, I am slowly endeavouring to accomplish what Sir William, at my entrance upon this undertaking, recommended to me; " to acquire a sufficient knowledge of Persian to enable me to give a new translation of Ferishtah;" a work, he adds, greatly in esteem among

all Indian scholars, but of which Mr Dow's translation is a very loose and imperfect one.

Hitherto, however, I have had subjects far more important to attend to than the mere acquisition of languages; and, when the reader shall consider the numerous difficulties with which I have had to contend, in writing the Indian Antiquities; when he shall reflect, that I had to *read*, to *digest*, and to *compose*, what is thus offered to the public, from an infinite variety of books, only to be procured with the utmost difficulty and at a ruinous expense; as well as that the topics discussed are both very abstruse and very remote from the common line of literary investigation; he will, I trust, permit candour to predominate over severity, and instead of wondering that *so little*, he will perhaps be surprised that *so much*, has been accomplished.

I can indeed safely affirm, in the words of the honoured patron of my juvenile productions, the late Dr Johnson,* that this work was

* My mentioning in these terms the venerated name of the late Dr Johnson will not, I trust, be called presumption. — There are those living who can attest the handsome manner in which he always spoke of two very early, but very different, productions of mine: THE SCHOOL-BOY, written, when at school, in imitation of THE SPLENDID SHILLING of Philips; and the FREE

was "written with little assistance from the learned, and without any patronage of the great; not in the soft obscurity of retirement, or under the shelter of academic bowers, but amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow." I had scarcely commenced my historical career, before I was called, upon an occasion the most distressing to human feelings, to exchange the blooming plains of Asia and the banks of the Ganges, where I began, in imagination, to range with delight, for the rugged rocks and Lethean stream of Bristol-Wells. It was, indeed, an occasion no less painful and distressing than the sight of distinguished worth, heightened by unaffected beauty, in the bloom of youth, slowly de-

TRANSLATION OF THE ŒDIPUS TYRANNUS OF SOPHOCLES. The former may be seen in Mr Knox's Elegant Extracts; the latter never wandered beyond the circle of the subscribers.

Indeed I cannot forbear stating a circumstance peculiarly honourable to myself, and illustrative, at once, of the natural goodness of his heart. At my entrance into orders, he wrote, unsolicited by me, a warm and friendly letter, to the Master of University-College, in my favour, with the proffer of a lucrative cure "if Mr Maurice were in orders," of which circumstance he was ignorant. I *was*, at that time, in orders, and fixed at Woodford, which particular reasons prevented my relinquishing for Bosworth, the living of his friend, Dr Taylor. The Master was so obliging as to send to me, to Woodford, Dr Johnson's letter, which I keep as a flattering memento of his friendship, and a striking proof, among others, of his enlarged philanthropy.

scending

scending to the unfruitful grave. No sooner was that melancholy event over, for which the too much honoured lines, in the church-yard of Woodford,* feebly attempt to display the genuine

* As a part of these verses, very inaccurately transcribed, has appeared in the public papers, I shall make no apology for inserting them below more *correctly* and *unmutilated.* I can assure the reader that, in doing this, I have no *vanity* to gratify. To compose them was the most painful task (a task enjoined, near the close of life, by the amiable deceased) that ever agonizing poet undertook. In presenting them to the reader, however, I own I have *some* ambition to gratify. I am ambitious of paying a *public* tribute of respect to worth, untimely snatched away, and sense early matured; and, if these volumes, by good fortune, should reach posterity, may her name and memory, that must ever be dear to virtue and to truth, descend with them, and consecrate the page.

EPITAPH ON A LADY.

SERENELY bright, in bridal smiles array'd!
The purple spring its blossom'd sweets display'd;
While raptur'd fancy saw full many a year,
In bliss revolving, urge its gay career.——
But, ah! how deep a gloom the skies o'erspread;
How swift the dear delusive vision fled!
Disease and pain the ling'ring hours consume,
And secret feed on youth's corroded bloom.
Ceas'd are the songs that filled the nuptial grove,
The dance of pleasure in the bow'r of love——
For Hymen's lamp funereal torches glare,
And deathful dirges rend the midnight air!
Oh! thou, whose cheek, the rival of the rose,
With all the flush of vernal beauty glows,

Whose

genuine grief of the writer, than the circumstances of vexation and disappointment, above recapitulated, successively rose to throw an additional shade over the remainder of a life, which seems doomed to be passed in extremes.

Whose pulses high with youthful vigour bound,
The brightest fair in fashion's mazy round,
Approach with awe the mansions of the dead,
And, as the grave's drear bourn thy footsteps tread,
Mark—'midst these ravages of fate and time—
Where WORTH lies buried in its loveliest prime;
Where YOUTH's extinguish'd fires no longer burn,
And BEAUTY slumbers in the mould'ring urn!
Oh! pause—and, bending o'er fair STELLA's tomb,
Mourn *her* hard lot, and read *thy* future doom!
Soft lie the sod that shields from wint'ry rains
And blasting winds my STELLA's lov'd remains:
May angels guard the consecrated ground,
And flowers, as lovely, bloom for ever round!
Meek sufferer!—who, by nameless woes oppress'd,
The patience of th' expiring Lamb possess'd;
When, many a tedious moon, thy fever'd veins
Throbb'd with the raging HECTIC's fiery pains,
Nor heav'd a sigh—save that alone which bore
Triumphant virtue to a happier shore—
STELLA, whose streaming eye ne'er ceas'd to flow
When sorrow pour'd the plaint of genuine woe,
Whose mind was pure as that unsullied ray
That beams from heav'n, and lights the orb of day;
Sweet be thy slumbers on this mossy bed,
Till the last trump shall rouse the sleeping dead;
Then, having nought from that dread blast to fear,
Whose echo shall convulse the crumbling sphere,
In fairer beauty wake—a heav'nly bride,
And rise an ANGEL, who a MARTYR died!

I have no intention, in recapitulating these disagreeable particulars, to excite the compassion or disarm the severity of the public censors, who are now to pass judgement upon this work, but only mention them as the best apology I can offer for the LONG DELAY in presenting the public with the two first volumes of Indian Antiquities, which ought to have made their appearance in the course of last year. The public tribunal is an awful court, and I approach it with all the diffidence which a first effort, by an unaided individual, towards executing an extensive literary work, cannot fail of inspiring; but I know the judges, presiding at that tribunal, are neither to be soothed by entreaty nor intimidated by menaces. It is in vain, if unmerited, to hope for the favour of the public; or to divert its censures, if deserved. "I have now set my *all* upon a cast; and I *must* stand the hazard of the die."

Having thus far considered the objections that *have been made* to this work, I must beg leave, before I conclude these introductory remarks, to mitigate the force of one or two that *may* be urged against it. The first, and not the least formidable, will probably be pointed against the *orthography* of the proper

names

names of Indian persons and places. This I own is one of the greatest difficulties which an historian of Asiatic events has to encounter; for, to attempt always to give them with undeviating correctness, is to attempt little less than an impossibility. When I first commenced this history, I had resolved to follow the example of those who have endeavoured to write every Indian word exactly as it is pronounced in India; and the Dictionary of Mr Richardson, in which the author, as he himself informed me, followed the orthographical instructions of the late Major Davy, Persian Translator to Mr Hastings, seemed to be the most certain guide. But to Major Davy's system I afterwards found material objections were made in the Dissertation of Sir William Jones, on the orthography of Asiatic words, which so properly ranks foremost among the valuable papers in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches; and I have since, in general, adopted his own method, and those of Mr Halhed and Mr Wilkins. But the profound observations in that treatise, concerning the Sanscreet language, and the proper modes of writing it in Roman letters, as well as many other remarks on this abstruse subject, by the latter gentlemen, will be exhibited

hibited to the reader in the Dissertation on the LITERATURE of the Hindoos. In the Geographical Dissertation for the most part, and throughout the whole of my History, when names of places occur, I have constantly used the mode of orthography adopted by Major Rennell, who is undoubtedly the best judge of what, in that respect, is most proper. I say, in the Geographical Dissertation, *for the most part*, because, in abridging the geography of the Subahs, I was compelled often to adopt the language of Mr Gladwin, the translator, who seems scrupulously to adhere to the maxims of Major Davy. The reader will therefore find, in that Dissertation, a variety of orthography which I cannot approve, but knew not well how to avoid. It was the Dissertation first written, and under the general impressions of the private advice of Mr Richardson, "to write the words as nearly as I could learn, both from his Dictionary and general information, that they were pronounced;" but as that pronunciation itself is various in different parts of India, and even among Indian scholars themselves, my only certain guide, in this dangerous path, was to keep as close as possible to the *general rule of orthography*, and to make Mr Orme,

and

and other authors of the highest repute, my examples. In observing this rule, it was hardly possible for me to err materially, or beyond the extension of candour, in a point so dubious and perplexing. *Acbar*, however, will sometimes, with all my vigilance, occur for *Akber*; *Shaw* for *Shah*; and *Cawn* for *Khan*; to which mode of writing those appellatives, I have now thought it expedient wholly to conform: because, though Major Rennell writes Acbar and Acbaree, yet, as I constantly quote the Ayeen AKBERY of Mr. Gladwin, in the *notes* to my history, it seemed absurd to have ACBAR in the *text*; or *Shaw* and *Cawn* above, while I cite the Nadir SHAH of Sir William Jones, and Abulgazi KHAN, the Tartar historian, at the bottom of the page.

But, possibly, not against mere *words* alone will the artillery of criticism be discharged. The general style which I have adopted, in writing the History of Hindostan, may also provoke censure, and these pages may be thought to abound too much with those desultory rhetorical flourishes, so common, and often so disgusting, in Asiatic productions.

As this objection tends peculiarly to wound certain poetical feelings which it is my misfortune

fortune to possess, I request to be heard upon it with patience and lenity.

Devoted to poetry in my earliest youth, or, rather, lisping numbers from the cradle, I pursued, till within these few years, that delightful but barren path of literary amusement. It has happened, too, that what my poetical exertions have produced has not been so fortunate as to attract the public notice. Amidst continued and universal neglect, however, it is still matter of honest triumph to me that the few detached pieces, in that way, which I have written, have received the warmest tribute of applause from men who would equally disdain to *flatter* or *deceive*; from men upon whose sterling judgement and upon whose unadulterated taste I dare to rely; from men who know and feel the difference that subsists between the nerveless sing-song effusions of the day, and that sublime, energic, manly, POESY, that strikes with the force of electric fire and seises upon the captive heart.——It is possible, therefore, that the MUSE, the bewitching enchantress of my juvenile days, that MUSE whose smile I so long and so ardently courted, may have in some degree corrupted my style and vitiated my taste in this respect. Indeed, it is an

adage

adage of great antiquity, that "No poet ever yet excelled in prosaic composition," and I have not the vanity to hope that adage will be overturned by the pages of this book. Let it, however, be candidly considered that this is only a first essay, towards any considerable publication in that line of writing, composed amidst the pressure of domestic calamity and professional avocation, amidst the suggestions of misrepresentation and the jealousy of competition, amidst multifold discouragement and aggravated disappointment.

Application, perseverance, and a mind more at leisure to restrain a luxuriant pen and lop off the redundancies of my style, may contribute to render my next volume more worthy of the public eye. Happy shall I be if the FEW, who read and approved my early efforts in a branch of composition which I shall soon renounce for ever, may extend a similar degree of candour to my first effort in the line of history. I will, however, be ingenuous with my subscribers; for I frankly confess that, of INDIA, a country where Nature has ever wantoned as in her loveliest prime, and shines forth arrayed in her richest attire; of INDIA, a country renowned through all ages for the eloquence and wisdom of her

sons of the line of BRAHMA; for the martial bravery of her rajahs of the house of KEHTREE; for the prodigies of exquisite art, and manufactures of beautiful fabrication, produced by those of the tribe of BICE; as well as for the patient and unrepining gentleness, amidst accumulated insult and oppression, of the industrious and numerous family of SOODER; I never intended to write a history unanimated in sentiment or undignified in diction. How, indeed, was it possible to write with frigid indifference of the land of elegant fiction and beautiful allegory? — Has not M. Sonnerat, — has not Sir William Jones, — has not M. Raynal, — in short, have not all the preceding writers on this subject, who have possessed any spark of animation to feel, any nerve of language to express those feelings, or any glow of genius to impress them on the breasts of others, alternately launched forth into the warmest strains of admiration on the survey of the virtues, learning, fortitude, and industry, of this innocent and secluded race of men?

Let it be farther remembered, in mitigation of the error of a style somewhat, I own, too lofty and luxuriant, that some of the most important and animating subjects that can possi-

bly be discussed, have, in the course of writing these pages, successively arisen for consideration—the purest, the sublimest, system of theology, next to the Jewish and Christian, ever established upon earth; and, when degenerating into idolatry, branching out either into the most splendid rites of the most elevated superstition—the MITHRATIC devotion—that is, the worship of the Sun and shining Host of Heaven: or else assuming the most gloomy habit in which that Superstition can possibly array herself, in which she terrifies mankind into the WORSHIP OF MALIGNANT DÆMONS and all the accumulated horrors of HUMAN SACRIFICES. Let it be remembered that the antient glory of empires so renowned as Hindostan and Egypt, the stately temples of their gods, and the superb palaces of their kings, engage no inconsiderable part of these extended speculations: and that I have been, throughout, occupied in the alternate contemplation of objects the most magnificent in the circuit of nature,* or the most venerable and beautiful

* I wish particularly, in this passage, to apologise for the manner in which, towards the close of the Geographical Dissertations, I have described the course of the mighty GANGES and the mightier BRAHMAPOOTER. But what author could remain unanimated when introducing to the reader's notice objects so little known to the

beautiful in the compass of art. It seemed to me *requisite*, that the loftiest subjects should be treated of in language more than usually elevated. To have written in colder terms would have argued either want of capacity, or, what I should think far more degrading, have rendered me suspected of insensibility.

It is usual to conclude the prefatory pages of any considerable work with a grateful enumeration of benefits derived, in the course of composition, from men eminent as scholars or illustrious by station. But since few advantages of that kind, more than those previously specified, have fallen to my lot, my catalogue of obligations will, necessarily, be not very extensive. It would, however, be the height of ingratitude, were I, on this occasion, to omit the tender of my warmest thanks to WILLIAM MONEY, JOHN HUNTER, and NATHANIEL SMITH, Esqrs, but especially to the latter gentleman, who has long proved himself friendly to the diffusion of Indian knowledge,* for their obliging recommenda-

the learned of Europe? Objects equally astonishing and magnificent.

* It ought to be remembered that both the BHAGVAT-GEETA and the HEETOPADES were ushered into the world under the auspices

tion of my undertaking to the Court of Directors, in 1790, by which it received the sanction of a patronage which has been of material service to this infant work, and I hope that the patronage thus liberally extended will not be found to be degraded in the execution of it; especially when the abstruse nature of many of the subjects discussed, and the slender sources from which any genuine History of ANTIENT INDIA can be drawn, shall have been candidly considered.

It would be equally ungrateful were I to forget making the acknowlegements which are due from me to WILLIAM GODFREY, Esq.

spices of the same gentleman, Mr Smith, who has so kindly forwarded the interests of this humbler attempt to elucidate the History and Antiquities of India.

When British merchants thus endeavour to blend the interests of LITERATURE with those of COMMERCE, they throw a lustre upon the distinguished station which they enjoy; a lustre which wealth alone, however ample or honourably obtained, can never bestow. They bring to our remembrance the days of those celebrated Caliphs of the East, equally distinguished for their love of literature and arms, when Trade and Sciences travelled, side by side, through the sultry deserts of Arabia, in mutual quest of riches and knowledge; and heard, with rapture, the poems repeated, which were afterwards suspended in the august temple of the grant mart of Mecca. It is to the eternal honour of this country, that we have not, in every period of its progress to its present prosperity, wanted many a SPEED to cultivate, and many a GRESHAM and SMITH to patronize, SCIENCE.

as well for the free use of such books as descended to him from his predecessors at Woodford, as for very early encouragement to proceed in these historical researches; the first idea of which originated, during my residence there, in repeated conversations with that gentleman on Indian topics; conversations fraught with instruction and remembered with pleasure.

To ROWLAND STEPHENSON, Esq. my warmest thanks are also due, for indulging me, in addition to many instances of long-experienced friendship, with the examination of the papers of his upright relation, GOVERNOR STEPHENSON, who had the honour, in company with Mr SURMAN, of obtaining from the Emperor MOHAMMED FURRUKHSEER, at Delhi, that *firmaun* by which the East-India Company became entitled, under the sanction of the Mogul Monarchs, before the subversion of their empire, to very extensive commercial privileges. As Mr STEPHENSON filled a high station in India, during one of the darkest and most sanguinary periods of its modern domestic history, when the tyranny of the SEYDS, those mighty Omrahs, dethroned or murdered five successive sovereigns of the imperial house of TIMUR, I *expected*, and *have found*, material

information from the perusal of them. In one of the letters of this Gentleman to the Chief of Patna, his successor, he declares it to be the determined resolution of Himself and the Council of Calcutta "not to interfere with the politics of the country; but to carry on their trade *quietly*, and only to defend the COMPANY'S ESTATE:" a wise and prudent maxim, which some may think ill exchanged for others of an ambitious and turbulent kind.*

Such is the slender list of literary obligations which I am under in carrying on this work. If, however, it has not been my good fortune to be favoured with the assistance of eminent living scholars, I have not wanted that of their writings, nor those of the ILLUSTRI-

* After all, however, it must be confessed, that Europe and Asia can never be governed by the same political code. The genius and manners of the inhabitants of the two continents are diametrically opposite; and nations, among whom the restless ambition and violence of individuals, even in private life, are frequently marked with a most sanguinary character, while vice, in the great and powerful, as frequently breaks forth in deeds of public and aggravated enormity, can no more be kept under controul by the mild, the humane, but tardy, policy established in European countries, than Europe will ever submit to be governed by the despotic maxims that prevail in most Asiatic governments. It may with truth be affirmed, that the natives of the British East-India settlements are the happiest subjects in the whole extent of Asia, at least since the overthrow of the mild and patriarchal government of the antient Hindoo emperors.

OUS DEAD. In proof of this, I now present the reader with a list of such books as I have, at an enormous expense, provided for the completion of the Indian History; and, as I have not always been so accurate in my references as I ought, I shall add their respective dates, particular editions, and the place where they were printed. Such authentic translations as I have consulted I shall ingenuously give; for, in my opinion, useful knowledge is not to be despised, from whatsoever quarter it can be obtained. The list thus subjoined may be of service to others in the pursuit of similar studies; and, by those who are acquainted with the value of some of the volumes enumerated, and the great scarcity of others, may, possibly, be considered as altogether composing no contemptible collection of ASIATIC HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES.

From a survey of the extensive preparations made by me for completing the HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN, the reader must perceive that what I now offer to the patronage of the public will not be the production of a few leisure hours, but of many years of contemplation and study; or, to speak more truly, the incessant labour of a life, of which some portion of the fleeting moments hath already been

suffered to elapse unimproved; of a life which may possibly be shortened by the toil of composing, if not embittered by the consequences of the expense incurred in publishing, so hazardous a work. I cannot therefore conclude this Address by saying, with my deceased friend Dr Johnson, that I dismiss this introductory volume with "frigid tranquillity;" since I have much to apprehend from CENSURE, and somewhat to hope from APPROBATION.

A

LIST

OF

BOOKS, COLLECTED,

By the AUTHOR,

FOR THE

ELUCIDATION OF THIS WORK.

In the GEOGRAPHICAL DISSERTATIONS, the books referred to, and occasionally compared, are the following:

Ptolomæi Geographia, Bertii, *folio*, — *Amst.* 1618
Strabonis Geographia, *folio* — — *Basil.* 1549
Plinii Naturalis Historia, *folio* — — *Aldi.* 1549
Cellarii Geographia, 2 tom. *quarto* — *Cantab.* 1703
Dionysii Orbis Descriptio, *octavo* — *Londini*, 1688
Varenii Geographia Gen. *octavo* — — *Cantab.* 1712
Bocharti Sacra Geographia; seu, Phaleg. *Frankfort*, 1674
Bocharti Sacra Geographia; seu, Canaan, *Frankfort*, 1681
Abul Fazil's Description of the Indian Subahs in the third volume of the AYEEN AKBERY, 3 vol. *quarto* — — *Calcutta*, 178
Abulfedæ Chorasmiæ et Mawaralnahræ Descriptio, *Editore John Greaves* — *Lond.* 1650
Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde, par M. D'Anville, *quarto* — — *Paris*, 1775

Eclair

Eclaircissemens Géographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde, par M. D'Anville, *quarto* *Paris*, 1753

Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci Minores, per John Hudson, 4 vol. *octavo* — *Oxon.* 1712

Arriani Periplus Maris Erythæi — — *Oxon.* 1698

Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, by Maj. Rennell, *quarto* — — — *Lond.* 1788

Memoir of ditto, corrected and enlarged, *4to*, *Lond.* 1791

Short History of Asia, by Sir William Jones, prefixed to the Life of Nadir Shah, *octavo*, *Lond.* 1773

To complete this collection of Indian Geography was wanting the Nubian Geography, by the Shariff Edrisi, which, unfortunately, no research of mine could procure.

Books of Oriental and Historical Antiquities relative to the EGYPTIANS and ETHIOPIANS.

Athanasii Kircheri ŒDIPUS ÆGYPTIACUS, 2 tom. *folio* — — — *Romæ*, 1652

Ludolfi Historia Æthiopica, *folio* — *Frankfort*, 1681

Ludolfi ad Hist. Æthiop. Comment. *folio*, *Frankfort*, 1691

Murtardi's History of the Pyramids of Egypt, translated from the Arabic, by M. Vatier, *duodecimo* — — — *Lond.* 1762

Abulfedæ Descriptio Ægypti, Arab. et Lat. *Gottenb.* 1776

Professor Greaves on the Pyramids, *octavo*, *Lond.* 1737

Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinoises, par M. de P***, 2 tom. *octavo* — — *Amst.* 1773

Pignorii MENSA ISIACA, *quarto*, *Amstelodami*, 1669

Horapollinis Hieroglyphica — — 1600

Norden's Travels in Egypt and Nubia, with the beautiful illustrative engravings, *folio*, *Paris*, 1740

Abdollatiff's Egypt, by Professor White, *octavo*, 1789

Perizonii

Perizonii Babylon. et Egypt. Origines, *8vo*, *Lug. Bat.* 1711
Letters of M. Volney, on Egypt and Syria, 2 vol. *octavo* — — — *Lond.* 1781
Letters of M. Savary on Egypt, 2 vol. *octavo*, *Lond.* 1787

Books elucidatory of HEBREW, PHŒNICIAN, CHALDAIC, and ARABIAN, Antiquities.

Waltoni BIBLIA POLYGLOTTA, containing the Jewish Targums, &c. 8 vol, *folio*, *Lond.* 1660
MISCHNA, editore Surenhusio, 6 vol. *folio*, *Amst.* 1698
Abarbanel in Pentateuchum, *folio*, *Hanover*, 1710
Grabe's Septuagint, 4 vol, *folio* — *Oxon.* 1707
Josephi Antiquitates Judaicæ, 2 vol. *folio*, *Oxon.* 1720
Philonis Judæi Opera, *folio* — *Allobrogum*, 1613
Stanley's Chaldaic Philosophy, *folio* — *Lond.* 1615
Patricii Oracula Zoroastri, *folio* — — 1593
Basnage's Continuation of Josephus's History of the Jews, *folio* — — — *Lond.* 1708
Concordantiæ, Auctore M. de Calasio, 3 vol. *folio*, *Lond.* 1747
Schindler's Lexicon, Hebrew, Syriac, &c. *folio*, *Han.* 1612
Kennicott on the Hebrew Text, 2 vol. *octavo*, *Oxon.* 1753
Calmet's Antiquities, Sacred & Profane, *4to*, *Lond.* 1727
Allix's Judgement of the ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1699
Dr Wotton on the Rabbinical Traditions, 2 vol. *octavo* — — — — *Lond.* 1718
Calmet's Great Hebraic Dict. 3 vol. *folio*, *Lond.* 1732
Gale's Court of the Gentiles, 3 vol. *quarto*, *Oxon.* 1672
Patrick on Genesis, &c. 9 vol. *quarto*, *Lond.* 1695
Buxtorfi Synagoga Judaica, *duodecimo* — *Basil.* 1615
Lowth on the Prophets, 4 vol. *quarto* — *Lond.* 1714
Poli Synopsis, 5 vol. *folio* — — *Lond.* 1699
Grey's Liber Jobi, Heb. et Lat. *octavo* — *Lond.* 1742

Spencer

Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum, *folio* — *Cantab* 1685
Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, 2 vol. *octavo* — 1766
Monumenta Antiquissimæ Historiæ Arabum, per Schultens — — — *Gottenburg*, 1774
Le Roque's Translation of Abulfeda's Arabia, *duodecimo* — — — — *Lond.* 1718
Le Roque's Account of Arabian Customs and Manners, *duodecimo* — — *Lond.* 1732
SALE'S ALCORAN, 2 vol. *octavo* — *Lond.* 1734
Sir William Jones's Dissertation on the Antient Arabians, in the second volume of the ASIATIC RESEARCHES.
Sanchoniatho's Phœnician History, by Bishop Cumberland, *octavo* — — *Lond.* 1720
Berosus et Manetho, apud Eusebium, *folio* *Basil.* 1542
Selden de Diis Syriis, *octavo* — — *Leyden*, 1629
Bishop Cumberland's Origines Gent. Antiquissimæ, *octavo* — — — *Lond.* 1724
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1680

In describing the Persian, Egyptian, and Grecian, MYSTERIES, and comparing them with those, which I have endeavoured to demonstrate were first practised in the CAVERN-TEMPLES OF INDIA, the following books and treatises are occasionally referred to:

Platonis Opera, 2 vol. *folio* — *Frankfort*, 1602
Apuleii Opera, 2 vol. *octavo* — *Edit. Biponti*, 1788
Jamblicus de Mysteriis, *folio*, *Edit. Gale, Oxon.* 1688
Taylor's Proclus, 2 vol. *quarto* — *Lond.* 1788
Plutarch de Iside et Osiride, *Edit. Squire, octavo, Cantab. no date.*
Porphyrius de Antro Nympharum, 12*mo*, *Cantab.* 1655

Macrobii

Macrobii Opera, *edit. Gronovii, octavo, Lugd. Bat.* 1670
Celsus apud Origen. contra Celsum, *quarto, Cantab.* 1658
Potter's Grecian Antiquities, 2 vol. *octavo* — 1757
Warburton's Divine Legation, 5 vol. *octavo, Lond.* 1765
Cudworth's Intellectual System, 2 vol. *4to, Edit. Birch,* 1743
Abul Fazil's Treatises on the Brahmin CHAR ASHERUM, or Degrees of Probation, and the various POOJAS and Purification of the Hindoos, in the AYEEN AKBERY, vol. 3.
Mr Holwell on the Fasts and Festivals and the Metempsychosis of the Hindoos, 2 vol. *8vo, Lond.* 1766
Mountfaucon and Banier on the severe rites of Initiation into the Mysteries of Mithras, in their respective works cited before.
Mr Forster's SKETCHES of the Mythology and Customs of the Hindoos, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1785
Mr Crauford's SKETCHES on the same subject, *octavo, first edition* — — *Lond.* 1790
Various Tracts of Buxtorf and Abarbanel, on the Jewish Purifications, *quarto* — *Basil,* 1662

*** With an enumeration of other authors referred to in CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY, I shall not trouble the reader—they are numerous, and in general accurately cited in the notes.

Books illustrative of the Antiquities of PERSIA, INDIA, TARTARY, CHINA, and JAPAN.

VETERUM PERSARUM RELIGIONIS HISTORIA, Auctore Thomas Hyde, edit. secund. *quarto, Oxon.* 1760
BHAGVAT-GEETA, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1785
AYEEN AKBERY, 3 vol. *quarto* — *Calcutta,* 1783
Halhed's CODE OF GENTOO LAWS, *quarto, Lond.* 1776
SACONTALA, *quarto* — — *Lond.* 1786

HEETOPADES,

HEETOPADES, *octavo* — — — *Bath*, 1787
ASIATIC RESEARCHES, 2 vol. *quarto, Calcutta*, 1788 & 90
ASIATIC MISCELLANY, *quarto* *Ibid.* 1785
NEW ASIATIC MISCELLANY, 2 vol. *quarto*, *Ibid.* 1712
Kempfer's History of Japan, 2 tom, *folio*, *Lond.* 1728
Kemper's Amœnitates Exoticæ, 2 vol. 4*to*, *Lomg.* 1712
Mountfaucon l'Antiquite Expliqué, 15 tom. *folio*, *Paris*, 1719
Le Compte's Memoirs of China, *octavo*, *Lond.* 1698
Father Du Halde's Hist. of China, 4 vol. 12mo, *Lond.* 1741
Martinii Martini Sinica Historia, 12*mo*, *Amstelodami*, 1659
Antient Accounts (*i.e.* Anciennes Rélations) of India and China, by M. Renaudot — *Lond.* 1733
Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, 8 tom, *duodecimo*, *Paris*, 1717
Chronologia Scythica Vetus, Opera T. S. Bayer, in Academiæ Commentariis Scientiarum Imperial Petropolitan, 3 tom. — — — 1732
Memoriæ Scythicæ, ad Alexandrum Magnum — *Ibid.*
Elementa Literat. Brahmanicæ Tangutanæ, Mungalicæ,* — — — — — *Ibid.*
Webb's Antiquities of China, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1678
Lettres Chinoises, Indiennes, et Tartares, à Monsieur Paw — — — *Lond.* 1766
Mr Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners, of Eastern Nations, *octavo* — — — — *Oxon.* 1778
BIBLIOTHEQUE ORIENTALE, par M. D. Herbelot, *folio* — — — *Maestricht*, 1776
Bryant's Analysis of Antient Mythology, 3 vol. *quarto* — — — — *Lond.* 1774

* I found these three Treatises of Bayer, detached from the original work in which they were published, fortunately bound up together in a Persian book, which formerly was the property of Dr Lort: they are equally curious and profound.

Banier's

Banier's Mythol. explained by Hist. 4 vol. 8vo, *Lond.* 1730
Dr Musgrave's Dissertations on the Grecian Mythology, *octavo* — — — *Lond.* 1728
The Dissertations of Sir W. Jones, in the second volume of Asiatic Researches, concerning the antient Inhabitants of these respective Empires.
The Dissertation of the same Author, in the first volume of that production, on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India.
Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par M. Sonnerat, 2 vol. *quarto* — — — *Paris,* 1782
Voyage en Arabie et Indes, par M. Niebuhr, 4 vol. *quarto* — — *Amsterdam,* 1780
M. Anquetil du Perron Zend Avesta, 3 tom. *4to, Paris,* 1771
D'Hancarville's Recherches sur l'Origine des Arts de la Grece, et sur les Monumens Antiques de l'Inde, de la Perse, &c. 3 tom. *quarto, Lond.* 1785
Parson's Remains of Japhet, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1767
Mallet's Northern Antiquities, by Percy, *8vo, Lond.* 1770
Archæologia, vol. vii. *quarto* — — *Lond.* 1785

In the extensive range which I have found it necessary to take in ORIENTAL ASTRONOMY, the following books have been my principal guide:

ULUG BEGII Tabulæ Stellarum Fixarum, translated, from the Persian into Latin, by Dr Hyde, *quarto* — — — — *Oxon.* 1665
Mohammedis Tizini Tabulæ Stellarum Fixarum, Arabice et Latine, cura Hyde — — *Ibid.*
ABUL FAZIL's Treatise on the Hindoo Astronomy, the third volume of the AYEEN AKBERY, *quarto* — — *Calcutta,* 1785

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* This latter publication is more frequently referred to by me than the former, which I was not able to obtain till this spring. hey are both very scarce, and the reader will find a large account of the work itself in my Letter to the Directors, of 1790.
M.

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Cambridge's War in India, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1762

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AD-

ADDENDA, relative to the MAPS and ENGRAVINGS with which the Volumes of Indian Antiquities are decorated, respectfully addressed to the Patrons and Encouragers of this Work.

WHEN, in the year 1790, I first laid before the public proposals for the ensuing History of Hindostan, my intention was to adorn the work with only an occasional map, illustrative of its antient and its modern geography. At the same time, induced solely by the consideration of making it more generally useful, I intended and hoped to have compressed the vast mass of events, transacted during the period of at least three thousand years, into the small compass of three octavo volumes, with a concise introductory dissertation on the geography, the theology, and the laws and customs, of the Hindoos, prefixed to each volume. Under the influence of the same impressions, I fixed the price of subscription for the undertaking at the moderate sum of ONE GUINEA. In vain, however, did I attempt to execute the work upon that contracted and economical plan. I soon

found that the brevity intended to have been adopted was totally incompatible with the various, the extensive, and important, subjects, which I had undertaken to elucidate; and that, had I strictly adhered to the literal tenor of the original proposals, the unavoidable consequence must have been, that an additional and ten-fold obscurity would have veiled subjects, already of themselves sufficiently dark and intricate. Dr Johnson's description of the sublime genius of Shakespear, who, like the Indian Brahmins, soared far above vulgar conceptions and the received traditions of mankind, seemed, to me, very applicable to the genius of Sanscreet History.

> EXISTENCE sees it spurn her bounded reign,
> And panting TIME toils after it in vain.

Upon explaining to my friends the disagreeable dilemma in which I had been plunged, by my desire to accommodate them with a work in which economy and utility should be united, it was their decided opinion, that the original plan was too contracted, and the proposed price of the production far inferior to the importance of the subject; that perspicuity ought not to be sacrificed to unnecessary brevity; and that, while books made

use

use of in the *elucidation only of this work* were vended at the high prices of five, ten, and fifteen, guineas, the price of the work itself ought to bear some proportion to the expenses incurred during its progress to completion. — In consequence of this advice, I enlarged the original plan, and finding, on a subject so novel, yet so interesting, as the mythology of Hindostan, that abstruse but interesting topics continually rose for explanation, which greatly interrupted the progress of the historical detail, I determined to amplify the introductory portion of the work, and write distinct dissertations upon the *geography, religion, laws,* and *literature,* of the Hindoos, into the body of which all extraneous matter of that kind, distinct from the regular history, but by no means unconnected with it, might be thrown, and which might be occasionally and easily referred to. But here a new and most perplexing difficulty arose: while I daily advanced more deeply into the OCEAN of Hindoo mythology and sciences, subjects so uncommon, and indeed, in some instances, so improbable, successively pressed for discussion, that the force of language could not fully elucidate them, nor the most solemn attestations of the most authentic tra-

vellers give them the stamp of credibility. I was, therefore, to illustrate the ideas I wished to convey, compelled to have recourse to the power of another science, and *Engraving* came in aid of her sister, *Mythology*.

The curiosity of the reader, it was supposed, would be doubtless inflamed to contemplate that stupendous bust of the triple deity of India, in the cavern of Elephanta, which forms the frontispiece, and of which, according to the most accurate delineator, Niebuhr,* the height is thirteen feet; the length of the centre face, alone, is five feet; while the breadth, between the shoulders, expands to the enormous amount of near twenty feet. Even the relation of these dimensions in company, particularly of those of the stu-

* The palm of superior accuracy is, on all hands, ceded to this celebrated traveller. Even the ornaments of the caps on the head of this triple deity are minutely delineated. This is surely an argument greatly in favour of the authenticity of the plates by Niebuhr; though the general appearance, both of the caps and the bust, here represented, materially varies from that exhibited in the seventh volume of the Archæologia, and in the large plate lately published, in this country, by Mr Forbes. From a survey of the engraving in the Archæologia, one would think that, by the centre, a female figure was intended to be represented. In my account of this colossal bust, I have myself adhered as strictly to the written relation of the Swedish traveller as my engraver has to the design of it in his expensive volumes.

pendous erections by Sultan Akber, at Secundra, near Agra, and those of the walls of the grand pagoda of Seringham, which are four miles in circumference, has often subjected me to the smile of sarcasm and the suspicion of credulity; but we are not to judge of Oriental architecture by the models of Europe, in which, as in antient Greece, beauty rather than magnificence is studied. It was natural for those, who thought the Deity best represented, as I have elsewhere observed, by gigantic sculptures and massy symbols, to fabricate their images in conformity to their magnified conceptions in theological concerns, and to erect the vast edifice of dimensions proportionate to the august form of the Divinity.

In an antient Sastra, or commentary upon the Vedas, translated by Colonel Dow's pundeet, there is a passage which strikingly demonstrates the sublime, but gross, conceptions entertained by the Indians concerning the Deity, which, probably, contributed to give their immense elevation and magnitude to the sacred fabrics of Hindostan. "BRAHME, that is, the supreme God, from whom Brahma is only an *emanation*, existed from all eternity, in a form of infinite dimensions. When it

pleased

pleased him to create the world, he said RISE UP, O BRAHMA! — Immediately a spirit, of the colour of flame, issued from the Deity, having four heads and four hands," emblematical, I presume, of the four elements and the four quarters of the world. "Brahma, gazing round, and seeing nothing but the immense image out of which he had proceeded, travelled for a thousand years in the anxious endeavour to comprehend its dimensions. But, after all his toil, he found his conceptions on that subject as dark as before. Lost in amazement, Brahma gave over his journey. He fell prostrate, and praised what he saw with his four mouths. The Almighty then, with a voice like ten thousand thunders, was pleased to say, Thou hast done well, O Brahma, for *thou canst not comprehend me!*"*

The whole of the eleventh chapter of the GEETA is at once wonderfully sublime and pointedly illustrative of their ideas of the Divine Being. There is also a passage, written in the true romantic style of Indian allegorists, which occurs in Sir William Jones's Discourse on the Chronology of the Hin-

* See Dow's Introduction to Ferishta's History of Hindostan, vol. i. page 50, second quarto edition.

doos,

doos,* which displays their conceptions on this point, and, being concise, shall be here inserted.—" A thousand great ages (centuries) are a day of BRAHMA; a thousand such days are an Indian hour of VEESHNU; six hundred thousand such hours make a period of RUDRA; and a million of *Rudras*, that is, as Sir William has reduced them to arithmetical calculation, two quádrillions five hundred and ninety-two thousand trillions of lunar years, are but a SECOND to the Supreme Being." Under such awful impressions of the divine nature, who can be astonished at the magnitude and extent of the temples erected in honour of the Deity by the superstitious Indian?

But to return to the subject more materially under consideration, which is that of the increased expense of these volumes, in consequence of the engravings, without which, I must again affirm, the principal objects alluded to in the course of writing them would be but faintly elucidated. By casting an eye upon the engravings of the grand pagoda, inserted in this volume, he will more easily conceive their general form of construction, than it was possible for me, by words, to in-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 115.

form him; and he will comprehend how easy it may be for an edifice, not covered in at the top, but containing, in its internal recesses, small chapels, as shrines of the gods venerated within its walls, to be erected of any proportions, however immense; while the fervour of that devotion, which originally planned, continued equally to animate, the Rajah and his toiling subjects to the completion of the magnificent fabric.

That a people, who, as they are represented by the correct pen of Mr Orme, in the elegant preface to his History, shudder at the sight of blood, and are, upon that account, totally ignorant of the anatomy of the human body; that the timid and gentle Hindoo, who, from his notion of the Metempsychósis, "afflicts himself at the death of a fly," and who is, perhaps, "the most pusillanimous and enervated inhabitant of the globe;" should once have profusely shed, in sacrifice, the blood of *men*, *bulls*, and *horses*, is a stupendous phænomenon in the history of human nature; it is, however, a solemn fact, and the reality of its existence, in very remote æras, is, I trust, sufficiently demonstrated in the following volumes.

That superstitious veneration for the Sun and Fire, which, in the earliest ages, diffused itself from UR, of CHALDÆA, through all the Asiatic world, constitutes too remarkable and prominent a feature in the Religion of Hindostan, not to be conspicuously brought before the eye of the reader in an engraving explanatory of its mystic rites. The important magnitude of the subject, and the extensive prevalence of that superstition, seemed, indeed, to demand from a writer on Oriental history and antiquities more than common attention, and therefore the exertions of the engraver have been called forth to furnish my subscribers with *three plates* elucidatory of that splendid idolatry. Of all the dissertations on this curious worship, since Dr Hyde's, in the Religion of the Antient Persians, stands deservedly highest in repute, and is equally scarce as it is authentic, I have been obliged to that author for two of those plates; the first immediately illustrative of the Sabian superstition, copied from the tombs of the antient sovereigns of Persia, at ISTAKER, the antient Persepolis; the second exhibiting a spacious FIRE-TEMPLE, with five lofty cupolas crowning the summit of the dome, and with cavities pierced in their sides, to serve as vents for those columns of smoke

smoke that for ever ascended from the grand altar, erected within. The former is exceedingly curious, and has been borrowed by Mr Bryant, as well as myself, in proof of observations which, in many points, must be unavoidably similar in all investigations of Asiatic mythology. The comparative parallel, however, of the several systems of theology adopted in the neighbouring nations of Asia, with those of India, illustrated by engravings, has not been before attempted, in so extensive a degree at least, in this country, as in the work now submitted, with becoming diffidence, to a candid public.

This curious engraving represents, as explained on the plate itself, a Persian monarch in a posture of adoration before the great objects of antient Iranian devotion. The image of the ascending soul of the monarch, exhibited on the rock above, is a striking proof of the belief of the antient Persians in the immortality of the soul, and it appears as if mounting up to that hallowed orb, in which, according to Dr Hyde, in the same book, the Persians supposed the throne of the Deity to be fixed. Even if Sir William Jones, in his most elaborate researches into Oriental antiquity, had not discovered

discovered to us that interesting and important fact, that a dynasty of Hindoo princes, denominated MAHABADIAN, a title of Sanscreet origin, sate upon the throne of Iran, or Persia, before the accession of Cayumaras, whom the TARIK MIRKHOND, and after that chronicle Sir William himself, in his short History of Persia, formerly asserted to have been the *first* regular monarch of that empire; had not the same indefatigable explorer of Asia told to astonished Europe, that, of the antient and venerable language of Persia, called the Zend, "six or seven words in ten were pure Sanscreet;" the similarity of their devotion, in this respect, evidenced in the daily and scrupulous celebration, by the Hindoos, of the HOWM, or burnt sacrifice; in the famous sects of SAURA's and SAGNICA's; and in the numerous AGNIHOTRAS, to this day kept blazing in Hindostan, but more especially at the celebrated city of Benares; more than sufficiently decides, that a most familiar connection, in the earliest periods, has subsisted between the two nations.

If, in consequence of this religious veneration of the Hindoos for the Sun and for Fire, objects which were so early and so universally deified through Asia; if, on the survey

survey of those innumerable images, human, bestial, and compounded of both natures, which are sculptured in every sacred cavern and painted in every pagoda of Hindostan; I have, more than once, in the course of the Theological Dissertation, branded her superstitious sons with the name of IDOLATERS, let not my meaning be mistaken, nor my words misrepresented. While I again assert that the *unity of God* is the principle which forms the basis of the pure, primæval, sublime, theology of BRAHMA, as promulged by the great VYASA, the Plato of India; while I allow that the solar fire is a noble symbol of that divine, all-vivifying, all-pervading, energy that supports and animates creation; I may, surely, be permitted to assert that of India which is so true of all other countries, —that, in every age, there have not been wanting priests, sufficiently artful and base, for venal purposes, to veil the awful truth from the eye of the multitude.—I may, surely, be allowed to insist upon what the theological history of every nation fatally justifies, that the Deity is too frequently forgotten in the contemplation of that very symbol, which was originally intended to impress upon the devout soul the more immediate

diate sense of his presence, and that the image itself has often received the homage due to the Divinity represented. By the word *idolater*, thus used, I would be understood to mean the offence in its mildest signification; for he, who worships God BEFORE AN IDOL, IS AN IDOLATER. When the Jews, in the desert, exalted on high the APIS of Egypt, they did not suppose that statue to be God himself, but to be animated by the soul of the Deity, and, through it, they addressed their prayers to HIM, who, being a spirit, must necessarily be degraded by all symbolical representations whatsoever, whether *in the heaven above, in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth.* In this sense then the inferior tribes of Indians are idolaters; they regard, with idolatrous reverence, the Sun and Fire; they represent, under a thousand images, the attributes of God, and they bow down before them. It is my anxious wish to soften down the phrase, in submission to Mr Hastings, who, near the period of the close of this volume, indulged me with a conference, of which I have only to lament that it did not take place sooner; a conference, during which, while my honest ambition was animated by the approbation of so

 able

able a judge of Hindoo history and literature, my judgement was improved, and the bounds of my knowledge of the Indian mythology and sciences enlarged. From that gentleman's obliging and *ready* communication, I learned to entertain more just conceptions of the great Triad of Deity, Brahma, Veeshnu, and Seeva, and the ten Avatars, than any books could impart to me; and by him I was gratified with the sight of an expressive and beautiful print, from which I hope, hereafter, to obtain his permission to have an engraving taken, of a female Indian devotee *prostrate before the venerated flame.* Recollecting, at the moment, a curious plate, which I had seen in Tavernier, of YOGEE penitents under the great banian-tree, of which some, *extended on the back*, were, apparently, adoring the Sun, I could not avoid repeating a passage from the Heetopades, cited in the second volume of this Dissertation, and so highly elucidatory of the subject before us. "The SUN should be *worshipped* on the back, the GOD OF FIRE upon the belly."

The third plate, allusive to the Solar Worship, is that very striking representation of A SACRIFICE TO THE SUN, sculptured on a rock in the Thebais, which so eminently both corroborates

roborates and illustrates what I have advanced, concerning the probable species of worship antiently celebrated in the sacred caverns of Elephanta and Salsette.—Concerning that valuable fragment of antiquity, so much has been already said in the text, and so accurate a description of it given, from M. Lucas and Mountfaucon, as well as from Savary, ocular witnesses of its existence, as to render any additional remarks upon it, in this place, impertinent and unnecessary.

In presenting my readers with an engraving of the MATSE-AVATAR, or first incarnation of Veeshnu, in a form composed of man and fish, I perform an act of voluntary supererogation, since it is not immediately connected with the subject of this volume, and more properly belongs to the antient Sanscreet History of India. I have, however, in various places of this volume, so positively asserted the attestation, given in antient Sanscreet treatises, to the Mosaic doctrine of a general deluge, that it is not wholly irrelevant to the Indian Antiquities, nor will, I trust, be unacceptable to that portion of my subscribers, possibly not a few, on whose account I insert it; those who, discouraged or disgusted with the increasing bulk and

 expense

expense of this work, may withdraw their names from the future support of it. As it must necessarily appear again in its proper place, among the engravings of the other Avatars, they will be candid enough to consider this spontaneous subjection of myself to unnecessary expense, at once as a mark of my grateful respect for their past patronage, and as a proof that I am not exciting expectations which I want integrity to fulfil or ability to gratify. As the engraving itself is accompanied, in the pages immediately preceding its insertion, with an account of the mythologic figures pourtrayed upon it, and as the whole must be largely commented upon hereafter, it would be trespassing on the time of my readers, at present, to say more on the subject. Those of them, who, during the perusal of this volume, may keep their eye directed toward the parent-country of mankind, will not fail, in the Matse-Avatar, to recognise the OANNES, or Fish-God, of the Babylonians, and the DAGON of the Phœnicians; for of this very form, *half man, half fish*, are both these deities described; the former in Berosus,* the latter in

* Berosus, apud Eusebii Chronicon, p. 5.

Selden.

Selden.* Indeed the very etymology of the term Dagon, more generally received among the commentators, forcibly corroborates this hypothesis, which deduces the whole from patriarchal traditions, in future ages mutilated; since, according to Bochart, (for, the radical is disputed,) it is derived from the Hebrew DAG, a word signifying FISH.

After the extensive range taken by me on the subject of antient caverns and cavern-worship in Asia, especially of those near Bombay, it would have been an unpardonable omission not to have attempted to oblige the European reader with one glance, however transient and defective, of that of Elephanta, the glory of India and the wonder of Asia. The PERSPECTIVE VIEW of Elephanta, here presented to him, though copied after the best sketch of it extant, is, indeed, of that imperfect kind; but it will serve to exhibit, more clearly than any verbal description could avail, the form and arrangement of the singular columns which adorn that august subterranean temple, the workmanship and magnitude of the grand mythologic bust, and statues of other Indian gods, that is, deified Rajahs; and the general plan

* Selden, De Diis Syriis, syntag. 2, cap. 3.

upon which that sacred and gloomy recess has been excavated in the remotest periods of antiquity. In imagination, he will naturally be led to wander through those dark winding avenues, and, as he ranges the dreary Verandas, he will, for a moment, be plunged in all the horrors of the terrified aspirant, described so feelingly by Apuleius and Dion Chrysostome, who had themselves been initiated. There, doubtless, the whole stupendous drama of the Indian theology was antiently performed and the grand machinery displayed, while kings were the actors, and holy Brahmins the admiring spectators! There, doubtless, the great god and prophet RAM has often fought over again his wonderful battles with the giant Ravan; and Creeshna has often sported, as of old, upon the hallowed plains of Mathura. The antient Sanscreet history of India is pourtrayed upon those walls. On a very recent and more accurate contemplation of its sculptures, finely engraved, a LIGHT, like that which broke in upon the initiated of old, has poured in upon me, from amidst the deep obscurity of that solemn retreat; and the Avatars, descending from their stations, seemed to sweep before me in all the majesty of their antient grandeur.

grandeur. That portentous and terrific figure, holding the terrified infant, which has perplexed all the beholders, which has been mistaken for the judgement of Solomon, and was, by myself, so naturally and, I trust, venially represented as the destroying Power of India, I am now convinced is no other than the tyrant CANSA, sovereign of Mathura in the eighth Avatar, thirsting for the blood of the infant Creeshna, who, it was predicted, (a prediction afterward verified,) would dethrone and destroy him: in consequence of which, he ordered all the male children born at that period to be destroyed. He grasps the infant by the thigh, because the enraged Cansa, as soon as he was born, rushing to the apartment where his supposed destroyer was, according to my author, Sonnerat, seised the affrighted babe by the legs, and, whirling it in that posture through the air, would have dashed out its brains against a stone, in the face of its supposed mother; but that child was a female substitute, born at the same hour with Creeshna, and exchanged by the command of the divine child himself, who, with his very birth, enjoyed the miraculous faculty of speech. By the same immortal infant, the female change-

ling was preserved unhurt; for, though at a distance, the power of Creeshna operated so far as to enable her to burst from the grasp of the over-thrown tyrant, and tower above him, in the air, a majestic goddess *with eight arms*; a circumstance which ought not to excite the ridicule of the reader, since, as I have elsewhere remarked, the numerous heads and arms, that decorate the statues of India, are only symbols by which a rude nation intended to express their ideas of superior wisdom and pre-eminent fortitude.

The event of Creeshna's birth, and the attempt to destroy him, took place by night, and, therefore, the shadowy mantle of darkness, upon which mutilated figures of infants are engraved, (darkness at once congenial with his crime and the season of its perpetration,) involves the tyrant's bust; the string of death-heads marks the multitude of infants slain by his savage mandate, and every object in the sculpture illustrates the events of that Avatar. It is engraving for me with all the accuracy of delineation and spirit that distinguishes the original, and will appear among the Avatars. In this particular figure there is great display of genius and great energy of expression; a tolerable engraver, therefore,

therefore, can scarcely fail of executing, from such materials, a satisfactory print. I must, however, forewarn the reader, that, if, in the plates presented to him, in a work of this kind, which are necessarily taken from voyages, travels, and volumes, antient themselves, and allusive to remote antiquities, he expects to find any very superlative excellence, either in the design or the execution, it is scarcely possible but he must be disappointed. There are few travellers who enjoy the advantage of Sonnerat and Niebuhr, in carrying with them, at the expense of royal munificence, able draughtsmen; fewer still, who, like Norden and Le Bruyn, are themselves accomplished artists.——Happy would it be for science were the case otherwise! In general, the precious fragments of antiquity are copied on the spot from rude sculptures on rock, or half-defaced paintings in Eastern temples, by travellers little acquainted either with the sculptor's or the painter's art. In most instances, too, it is impossible for the artist to deviate from the exemplar before him, however defective in propriety, and however contrary to the established rules of his profession. So correct a FAC-SIMILE, as may convey a just conception

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of the object intended to be represented, is in general the utmost that the reader can reasonably expect. These reflections are indeed less immediately applicable to the figures in Elephanta, than most others in antiquity, since they are in general excellently designed; and, indeed, many of those figures are sculptured with such spirit and expression as must astonish every spectator who considers the remote period of their formation; and, if the statues, copied from Egyptian caverns, in Mr Bruce's Travels, be genuine antiquities, we shall not long hesitate in pronouncing both to be the fabrication of the same indefatigable race. What wonderous race that was, and from what primæval country they diffused themselves over all Asia and the greatest part of Africa, the reader may form some conjecture, by perusing the latter part of the extended prospectus, which precedes the Theological Dissertation. Mr Bryant's hypothesis, accounting for the great similarity which prevails in the architecture, supernal and subterraneous, of the two countries, (a species of architecture which awes us alike with its massy solidity and its stupendous elevation,) is the only one upon which the difficulty can be explained. A view of the

VESTIBULE

VESTIBULE of the grand temple of Dendera, the antient Tentyra, (by mistake printed Tentara in the engraving,) which is described by Pococke and others, is given on the same plate with the perspective view of the Elephanta-cavern, as well because, from being half-buried in the sands, it may in some degree be styled *subterraneous*, as because it displays the hieroglyphics and mythologic sculptures with which the columns and walls of the Egyptian temples were covered. The former are, indeed, too minute to be accurately distinguished; but, of the order and the number of them from that plate, a correct idea may be formed. What must the temple itself have been, of which so magnificent an edifice was only the VESTIBULE?

Connected with the caverns of India are two other subjects, concerning which I request the reader's permission somewhat more explicitly to deliver my sentiments. The first regards that particular species of worship so predominant throughout Hindostan, I mean that of the LINGAM, or PHALLUS, of which the disgusting emblem is so conspicuously pourtrayed in all the pagodas and sacred caverns of India. Every reader, who at all reflects, will be sensible how difficult it must

be

be to write on such a subject in words that may not offend even the eye of virgin innocence; of which class of readers, I trust, a few will honour these pages with a perusal. I have been as careful as possible to select expressions that may unfold my meaning without giving offence; and have, on that account, curtailed, even to obscurity, my remarks on a subject, of which, taken up in a physical and philosophical point of view, the full elucidation would require volumes; and upon which, in fact, not a few volumes have been written. I have, in the following pages, considered that worship merely in a theological light; and, though I am not ignorant of a great deal which has been written, by Sonnerat and others, concerning the purity of morals and intention of the first devotees of the lingam, in India, and the phallus, in Egypt, yet I cannot avoid thinking, that the less said in praise or vindication of it the better, in European countries, where more pure and nobler conceptions of the *great generative and creative power*, that formed the universe, happily prevail; where the inhabitants are not lulled in the insensible *apathy* and divine *absorption* of the pious YOGEES, and where the ebullition of licen-

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tious passion is not so effectually curbed by viands simple and innutritious as the rice and water of the abstracted and philosophical race of Brahma. Considered in a theological point of view, and writing in a country professing Christianity, I trust, I have referred so indecent a devotion to its true source, the turpitude of HAM, whose Cuthite progeny introduced it into Hindostan, together with other depravities, destructive of the pure primæval religion of SHEM, or the principles of the Veeshnu sect. Even those, who strenuously contend for the unsullied morality of the first institutors of the worship in question, will, doubtless, admit the truth of what I have asserted in this part of the work, concerning the adulteration of its original purity, so evident in the prostitution of the *women of the pagoda*, and the indecencies practised in the mysterious rites of BACCHUS, and the BONA DEA, at Rome. My object, therefore, is to evince, that the brevity I have observed, on a subject which, in a Treatise upon the Theology of Hindostan, might naturally be expected to engross a larger portion, has proceeded from choice, not from ignorance of the extensive and deeply-physical nature of the subject, nor inattention to the prevailing manners of India.

The

The other subject alluded to is that of the Metempsychosis, concerning which, and the mysterious rites of initiation in those caverns, so much has been already observed.

It is the opinion of M. Niebuhr, inserted in his chapter upon ELEPHANTA, that a full examination of the antiquities of this cavern, its form and decorations, would not only throw great light upon the antient history of India itself, but upon the history and theologic rites of other Asiatic nations. With this hope, and with the key supplied me by Porphyry and Celsus, to unlock all the theological and philosophical mysteries antiently celebrated in caverns, I trust I have contributed somewhat towards removing the veil of obscurity, in which the history, the rites, and design, of that astonishing excavation has been so long involved. That certain mysterious rites *were* there celebrated has been proved, as far as analogy, in theological sentiments, and similarity, in the fabrication of the caverns, with those in the mountains of Persia and Upper Egypt, could tend to establish the proof. For, to what purpose was there the double entrance into them, by NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN GATES, according to the Homeric description of the cave of the

the Nymphs, inserted in the subsequent volume, of which, the North entrance was that through which the soul, in its journey of the Metempsychosis, passed to the lower spheres, while that to the South was sacred to celestials alone; for what purpose were intended the winding avenues, the high altars, the tanks for ablution, and the gloomy interior recesses, but for the regular performance of similar ceremonies, and the arduous exercise of kindred virtues. To place, however, the disputed point beyond all doubt, I have now to inform the reader of the following intelligence. More extensive inquiry, since that portion of my book went to press, which asserted that similar rites were performed in the Indian caverns, as were antiently celebrated in the mystic cell of Osiris, the cave of Mithra, and the temple of Eleusis, has obtained for me authentic information, that, at this very day, something, very much resembling the antient notion and practice of purification in sacred caverns, continues in vogue among the Hindoos in one of our own settlements. In the island of Bombay, about two miles from the town, rises a considerable hill, called Malabar-Hill, which, stretching into the ocean, by its projection forms a kind

of

of promontory. At the extreme point of this hill, on the descent towards the sea-shore, there is a rock, upon the surface of which there is a natural crevice which communicates with a cavity opening below, and terminating towards the sea. "This place," says an author, to whose printed account of it I was referred for corroborative evidence of its existence, "is used by the Gentoos as a purification for their sins, which, they say, is effected by their going in at the opening below and emerging out of the cavity above. This cavity seems too narrow for persons of any corpulence to squeese through; the ceremony, however, is in such high repute in the neighbouring countries, that there is a tradition, that the famous Conajee Angria ventured, by stealth, one night upon the island, on purpose to perform this ceremony, and got off undiscovered."*

After the accurate MAP OF ANTIENT INDIA, presented to the literary world by M. D'Anville, in his excellent treatise, entitled ANTIQUITE GEOGRAPHIQUE DE L'INDE, it would have been presumptuous and impertinent to have attempted the fabrication of

* See Grose's Voyage to the East Indies, vol ii. p. 57, second edition.

another.

another. I have, therefore, had that map correctly re-engraved, as an unerring guide to the classical reader, while he peruses the accounts from Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny, in the geographical treatise, and pursues the rout of Alexander, through what is called the PANJAB of India, or country watered by the five great branches of the Indus; beyond which, eastward, the conquests of that invader, however magnified by the Greek historians, did not extend. In the very few alterations I have ventured to make in it, I was guided by Major Rennell's map of Northern India, in the last edition of his memoir. The situation of the Cathæi, which is not marked in D'Anville's map, except by the scite of Sangala, is ascertained by that of Major Rennell, though I ought, perhaps, again to apologise for persevering in the mode of spelling that name. It was, however, agreeable to an hypothesis adopted by me, of the propriety of which the reader must be the ultimate judge, and perhaps, in conformity to that hypothesis, I ought, at once, to have adopted the orthography of Mr Bryant, and written the word CUTHÆI. I thought it would likewise gratify the reader's curiosity to see A NATIVE MAP OF HINDOSTAN, and, among

a variety offered to me, I have adopted the one which I presumed was most authentic, that in the Ayeen Akbery. It is only partially explained in the Dissertation; a fuller elucidation of the meaning of the Hindoo geographers will be given in the chapter on the Literature of the Hindoos. Their commerce with Europeans has been the happy occasion of amending their gross errors on that subject. In the future volumes of this work, two other maps will be presented to the reader, for the elucidation of the Modern History of Hindostan: the *former* exhibiting the country properly called by that name; the *latter*, the peninsula, agreeably to the recent partition of the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun among the belligerent powers, under the politic, the moderate, the judicious, management of a noble commander, whose distinguished magnanimity cannot fail of being blazoned on the page of history, for pausing in the full career of glory to check the ardour of dangerous ambition, and remembering mercy in the moment of certain victory.

Such are the engravings and maps with which the volumes, now offered to the public, are decorated; and some of those that are now engraving for the volumes, which are

immediately

immediately to succeed, are still more curious, though possibly they may not be so numerous. I again beg permission to repeat, that it is impossible to separate the antient mythology and antient history of any of the great empires of Asia. He, who fastidiously rejects the former, must resign all hope of comprehending the latter. With respect to the history of antient India, it appears to me to be a species of astronomical mythology; and possibly, when more fully investigated, the testudo of the Egyptian Hermes, and the tortoise in which Veeshnu became incarnate, will both be found to have reference to the sign that slowly winds round the North pole. Mercury and Bhood, another incarnation of Veeshnu, evidently relate to the same planet; for the *dies Mercurii* of the Greeks is undoubtedly the *dies Bhood* of India, and Bhood is the god Woden of the Gothic nations, as is evidenced in the day of Woden, that is, Woden's day, or, as we are accustomed corruptly to write and pronounce the word, WEDNESDAY. Engaged necessarily, therefore, in these more extended inquiries, and involved, consequently, in great additional expenses, I find myself reluctantly compelled to make a considerable advance in the subscription-price

of the Indian Antiquities. I make this alteration with the full concurrence of the major part of my subscribers; I trust it will meet the approbation of the remainder; and, that those may not be injured, whose benevolence to the author, and candid opinion of his undertaking, induced them to subscribe for *two* copies of this work, I submit it to them that they take no more than *one* copy.

I have observed before, that, in the course of the wide range which I have been compelled to take in the field of Asiatic mythology, certain topics have arisen for discussion, equally delicate and perplexing. Among them, in particular, a species of TRINITY forms a constant and prominent feature in nearly all the systems of Oriental theology, a doctrine, which, though exceedingly curious, and deeply connected with the old philosophy of the East, as it concerns the Pagan world, having been never yet fully investigated, nor accurate engravings of the Gentile Trinities, in regular series, ever yet presented to the public, I have ventured, with a trembling step, upon that hazardous task. It was not from *choice*, but from *necessity*, that I have entered thus largely upon a subject, which, from the incessant operations of the

the great Indian Triad of Deity, Brahma, Veeshnu, and Seeva, in the mythology of Hindostan, was intimately blended with others, treated of in these introductory volumes. This extensive and interesting subject engrosses a considerable portion of this work, and my anxiety to prepare the public mind to receive, with indulgence, my efforts to elucidate so mysterious a point of theology, induces me to remind the candid reader, that visible traces of this doctrine are discovered, not only in the THREE PRINCIPLES of the Chaldaic Theology; in the TRIPLASIOS MITHRA of Persia; in the TRIAD, BRAHMA, VEESHNU, and SEEVA, of India, where it was evidently promulged in the GEETA fifteen hundred years before the birth of Plato; but in the NUMEN TRIPLEX of Japan; in the inscription upon the famous medal found in the deserts of Siberia, "to the TRIUNE GOD," to be seen at this day in the valuable cabinet of the Empress, at Petersburg; in the TANGA-TANGA, or THREE IN ONE, of the South Americans; and, finally, without mentioning the vestiges of it in Greece, in the symbol of the WING, the GLOBE, and the SERPENT, conspicuous on most of the antient temples of Upper Egypt. Thus univer-

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sally, and in such remote periods, prevalent in Asia and the neighbouring regions, it became absolutely necessary fully to inquire whether so fundamental an article of the Christian faith *was* or *was not* known to the ANTIENT JEWS. I trust, that the fact of its having been known, though obscurely, in Palestine, will be amply proved in the following pages. I likewise flatter myself, that the production of all the evidence, for its having been actually believed by the ANTIENT JEWS, will be a circumstance as highly gratifying to the assenting Christian as the exhibition of the various symbols, by which the Trinity was shadowed out among the Pagan nations, will be to the VIRTUOSO and the ANTIQUARY.

Of those who may not be inclined to credit the assertion, " that this doctrine *was* obscurely known in Palestine," I beg permission, in a more particular manner, to request the attention to that very curious emblem, engraved on the plate of the symbols of the Hebrew religion, in the fourth volume of this work, by which the antient Jews were accustomed to designate the ineffable name JEHOVAH, in manuscripts of the most venerable antiquity, for their serious reflection.

That

That symbol is a characteristical representation of a TRINITY in UNITY; the former represented by three JODS, denoting the three hypostases, or persons in the divine essence, the JOD being the known character of that Jehovah, of whose name, in Hebrew, it constitutes the first sacred letter; the latter shadowed out by the circle that surrounds them, as well as by the point Kametz, subjoined to the three JODS, which denotes the ESSENTIAL UNITY common to the three hypostases. The symbol itself is to be found in the writings of the younger Buxtorf, one of the profoundest critics in Hebrew literature that ever flourished out of the pale of the Jewish church, whose judgement on this point will, hereafter, be inserted at length; and it is likewise preserved in that curious repository of Oriental antiquities, the Œdipus Ægyptiacus of Athanasius Kircher. The first asserts, that, in the antient Chaldee paraphrases, kept sacred from the vulgar, among the Jewish doctors, the name Jehovah is thus designated; and the second declares, that he himself has seen that name thus invariably characterised, in all the antient Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible, in the Vatican. I thought this information so important, that, at my desire, a learned friend

has written to the librarian, at Rome, for correct intelligence relative to the truth of this declaration, and the age of the manuscripts in which the designation appears. The result of this inquiry shall hereafter be submitted to the consideration of the reader.

There is likewise another symbol, of a nature too curious to be unreferred to, by which this doctrine of the Trinity was shadowed out among the antient Egyptians, and which, whoever will examine the plates of Norden and Pococke, will find conspicuously sculptured on almost all the portals of the more antient temples of the Thebais. It is a figure highly picturesque and beautiful, compounded of a GLOBE, the just emblem of OMNIPOTENT POWER, and, therefore, strikingly descriptive of the great FATHER and SOVEREIGN of the universe; of a SERPENT, issuing from it; that serpent, which, being the known emblem of ETERNITY and WISDOM in all the systems of Asiatic Mythology, most expressively typifies the ETERNAL WISDOM, who emaned from the fountain of the paternal godhead; and of a WING, *proceeding* likewise from the central orb, by which hieroglyphic, the Egyptians, on all their monuments, designed AIR, or SPIRIT, in general; but,

but, more particularly, as I hope, hereafter, indisputably to prove, that immortal CNEPH, or primordial SPIRIT, whose EXPANDED and PROLIFIC wings, brooding over the vast abyss, rendered fertile the inert mass, while its vivifying breath infused the vital principle into the various classes of animated nature. This Egyptian symbol of their divine triad has been copied for me with great accuracy, and will be found engraved on the second plate of the fourth volume of this work.

This subject has been the occasion of my entering more at large than I had intended, or indeed would otherwise have been necessary, into the antient rabbinical theology of the Hebrew doctors, as delivered down to their posterity in the TARGUMS, the TALMUDS, and other compositions of the most celebrated cabalists of the antient synagogue; a line of speculative divinity which, I confess, was till lately totally unknown to me, and the investigation of which required no small portion of time and industry. The comprehensive view which I have taken of the same subject required a more minute and critical examination of the authenticity and antiquity of those Chaldaic oracles, which are attributed to Zoroaster, than I could find in any previous author,

author, they having been generally given up, by all those who have hitherto treated of them, either as rank forgeries, or as involved in inextricable obscurity. But, on a more accurate inquiry into the meaning of those abstruse oracles, it will appear that they only contain doctrines similar to those that prevailed in the more antient and obsolete systems of theology, once prevalent in Asia; and to many, especially, that about the commencement of the Christian æra were predominant in Persia and India. Many remarkable traces, indeed, of the superstition of the old Magi, discovered in those oracles, still remain among the Indian Brahmins; particularly those that regard their mystic Theurgy, their magical incantations, their general belief in the agency of good and evil dæmons, worship of fire, fire ordeals, and other sacredly-obscure ceremonies, upon which I have grounded a defence of the genuineness of those oracles. The perpetual recurrence of a SACRED TRIAD OF DEITY, in Asiatic mythology, (and it is of little consequence whether that triad consisted of PERSONS, QUALITIES, or ATTRIBUTES DEIFIED, since they are all corruptions of one grand primæval doctrine,) gradually led me on to the examination of the fragments of antient theology, ascribed to the

Ægyptian

Ægyptian HERMES; of the hymns attributed to ORPHEUS; and of what occurs more peculiarly remarkable relative to a trinity of divine hypostases, in the writings of Numenius, Parmenides, and Plato.

From various circumstances above-enumerated in the preceding pages, and the specimen now before him, the reader may possibly be enabled to form some faint idea of the undertaking for which the exertion of his candour is respectfully claimed, and the extension of his patronage ardently solicited.

For my own part, I have had principally to contend with, and to overcome, the growing magnitude of my subject. Having originally, for the sake of economy, but greatly, as I find, to my own disadvantage as an author, and materially as I fear to the injury of the engravings, chosen an octavo rather than a quarto page for the ushering into the world of this work, I have daily occasion to *feel* and to *lament* that my efforts to elucidate the Indian History are cramped, and that the sphere in which I can only move with prudence and safety is far too circumscribed for an undertaking of such extent.

Overwhelmed with the immensity and variety of the subjects necessarily comprehended

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in it, I scarcely know how to break down into a compass sufficiently contracted, and into volumes that may not give birth to alarm or disgust, the enormous aggregate of materials already prepared; and which, if committed to press without severe retrenchment, would already fill ten volumes of the size of that now submitted to the public. For, in truth, at a period long antecedent to the year 1790, and previous to any idea of writing Dissertations, or entering into the investigation of remote Sanscreet Annals, that extensive portion of this work, which may be called the regular classical History of Hindostan, and which, commencing with the Persian and Grecian invasions, descends in regular succession down to the extinction of the Western empire, was already completed, though not committed to the press.

Of the numerous and cruel incursions made by Mahommedan princes into the Upper India, from the Caliph Valid, in the seventh century, traced regularly down through the several series of dynastics of the Sultans of GAZNA, GAUR, and CHARASM, dynasties scarcely heard of in Europe, but highly renowned through all Asia, and deeply connected with Indian History; of the daring exploits

exploits in the same country of the immortal Gengis, the subverter of the Charasmian dynasty; and of the fierce and sanguinary, but politic, Timur; as the history of these dynasties is detailed by Mirkhond, Abulfaragius, Abulfeda, Al Makin, and Abulghazi, the Tartar historian, *compared throughout with Ferishta's native history of the country*, and as the feats of those two great Eastern warriors, unrivalled in the number of their armies, or the arduousness of their enterprises, even by the Alexanders and Cæsars of classical antiquity, are given in the authentic volumes of Arabshah, Sheriffedin, and the excellent edition of TIMUR'S INSTITUTES, recently published at Oxford, in Arabic and English, by Doctor White and Major Davy; of these, together with the interesting events that occurred during the reign of Baber, who may properly be called the FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL MONARCHY IN INDIA, and of his father, Ulug Beg, the great astronomer, who equally awed the Despots of Asia in the field by his arms, and delighted her Literati in the study by his writings; of Ulug Beg, a name to be for ever holden sacred, while impartial justice continues to be the ornament of kings, and sound philosophy remains the glory of learned univer-

sities,* and while both, terminating in an undeserved and ignominious end, can awaken in mankind the sigh of commiseration; of Akber, the annals of whose extended reign are the annals of glory itself; of the magnificent Jehaun; and the intrepid Aurungzeb; of these respective characters, illustrious in arts and triumphant in arms, circumstantial and elaborate histories have for some time past been composed by me, with which, and a few elucidatory engravings, the public shall be gratified the moment that its decided approbation shall appear to sanction the enormous expense of printing them. Happy shall I be to return from the dreary and unfruitful wilds of obscure mythology into the path of regular and connected History; and greatly indeed shall I think myself indebted to the candour of the public, if the inaccuracies and defects of this volume may be overlooked, in the consideration that objects more important have engaged my attention than those that relate to precision of expression and the minutiæ of errors, for the most part typographical.

While I again lament that the engravings of this volume, which are for the most part

* Among other noble acts, Ulug Beg founded an extensive college and a noble observatory at Samarcand.

on quarto plates, must be injured by being folded within the contracted compass of an octavo page, I think it necessary to acquaint the Patrons of this Undertaking, that a much larger number than is usual of the *first impressions* of those plates has been printed off, with a view, at some period or another, to gratify the wishes of those zealous friends, who are anxious to see a quarto edition of a work, which, they are pleased to assert, merited a more expanded and respectable page.—For what concerns myself, I confess that I want neither honest ambition nor proper materials to enlarge this undertaking to any extent that may be necessary to the *complete* elucidation of the interesting objects concerning which it treats. Printing, however, at my own peril and expense, I freely acknowlege, that, with the comparatively small support which I have hitherto experienced, I have felt the publication of it upon an octavo page sufficiently oppressive, without at present engaging in a more costly edition. If, however, a society of gentlemen, or even of liberal booksellers, should think the plan of a larger edition warrantable, no interested motives on my part shall obstruct the accomplishment of their wishes; but, on the contrary, every exertion

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in my power shall be afforded to render such a work more worthy the public eye than it can be in its present garb; and some very curious additional sketches, taken as well from the book of nature as from volumes of great cost and rarity, elucidatory of Indian Antiquities, and originally selected by me for the illustration of these pages, but since laid by, as too large in the design for insertion in an octavo volume, and too expensive in the execution for a work of this price, shall be cheerfully resigned for the decoration of it. I trust that the sordid principles that sometimes disgrace authorship are unknown to my mind. I write from nobler motives than the desire of base emolument; but my situation will not allow me to be insensible to the dictates of prudence and the admonitions of friendly anxiety for my interest.

Lest, after all, the reader should think that I am induced by mercenary motives to make this increase in the price of my book, it becomes necessary that I should inform him of the *undisguised* and, to myself, *alarming* truth, that, from not being the most accurate of calculators, I had myself formed but very inadequate conceptions concerning the total expenses that would be incurred by such a work;

work; that, when he shall pay the amount of this book, as fixed above, he will scarcely lay down the value of the maps and engravings that illustrate it; and that, from the sale of single volumes only, unless the work collectively should meet with the good fortune to have an extensive sale, no possible compensation will arise to the author for many hours of literary toil consumed by the midnight lamp; for very considerable property expended upon the completion of it; and health *deeply*, if not *irretrievably*, injured.

DISSERTATION I.

THE

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

OF

HINDOSTAN.

CHAP. I.

Of the antient geographical Divisions of INDIA, *according to the classical Writers of* GREECE *and* ROME.

THE science of GEOMETRY is thought to have been the invention of the antient Egyptians; and, the occasion of it, the annual inundations of the Nile. A similar argument may be urged, with far greater plausibility, in favour of its having originated in INDIA, since many parts of that extensive region are annually overflowed, not only by the Ganges, but by many other considerable rivers. It was a custom of very antient date, and of almost universal prevalence, in Asia, for great monarchs and commanders of armies to carry in their train certain persons whose office it was to measure the roads and describe the provinces through which they passed. These itineraries proved afterwards of the utmost importance to the geographer

and the historian; and hence Abul Fazel, the secretary of Sultan Akber, was enabled to give so accurate an account as he has afforded us of the geography of the Indian Subahs, in the celebrated book which bears the name of that emperor. The old Indians themselves seem to have been more than usually attentive to geographical accuracy; for, according to Strabo, they erected columns, inscribed with directions for travellers, and marked with the distances of the several cities one from the other*. But however well the Indians might have been acquainted with the geography of their own country, it will presently appear that they were miserably deficient in the knowledge of that of the other parts of the terrestial globe, as indeed will be sufficiently evident to the reader, from a slight inspection of the curious Hindoo map of the world, presented to him in the course of this geographical dissertation. I shall devote the present chapter to the consideration of the Indian Geography, according to the Greek and Roman writers. In the second chapter I shall endeavour to relieve the necessary dryness, which always attends geographical details, by displaying, from authentic writers,

* Strabonis Geographia, lib. 15, p. 661.

the astonishing extent and unequalled magnificence of the successive capitals of India, under the Hindoo, Persian, and Tartar, princes; and, in the third, from Sir W. Jones's elegant little treatise, prefixed to his Description of Asia, and from the Ayeen Akbery, I shall exhibit the sentiments on this subject of the Persian, Arabian, and Indian, geographers. My guide, throughout the whole survey, will be the works of those celebrated modern geographers, M. D'Anville and Major Rennel.

INDIA was a term applied with the greatest latitude by the antient writers of Greece and Rome, whose ideas of the geographical divisions of this portion of the globe were exceedingly confused and inaccurate. Not only a considerable part of Scythia, by the denomination of Indo-Scythia, was comprehended under that title, but the appellation was extended to countries still more remote and unconnected; even to Ethiopia Propria and the distant nations of the torrid zone. This circumstance will appear less surprising, when it is considered, that, in the early ages, the Red Sea itself was frequently included under the general title of the Indian Sea, to which it is so near a neighbour, and of which Pliny* af-

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 24.

firms it, as well as the Persian Gulph, to be a branch*; that all those countries, extending on each side of the Red Sea, were called indifferently India or Ethiopia; that even at this day the Asiatics in general understand the term INDIA with considerable license of meaning, and that the Persians in particular give the names of Siah Hindou to an Abassine, or modern Ethiopian.

In fact, so little did the antients know of their limits and divisions, that both India and Ethiopia were used as general terms to signify any remote uncivilized country; and in this sense Virgil is to be understood in the sixth Æneid†, where Æneas in the shades is informed of the future glory of Augustus, and that

——— Super et Garamantes et Indos
Proferet imperium——

* On the other hand, both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus give the name of Red Sea to the Oceanus Indicus. See Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 102. and Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 41.

Curtius remarks, that the river Ganges emptied itself into the *Red Sea*, but is strangely mistaken when, in the next sentence, he makes the Acesines discharge its waters into the Ganges. The following passage is illustrative of what has been said above: "Mare certe, *quo India abluitur*, ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. Ab Erythra rege inditum est nomen: propter quod ignari, *rubere* aquas credunt." Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 9.

† Æneid. vi. l. 794.

And

And again, in the eighth Eclogue*:

Ismarus aut Rhodope aut extremi Garamantes †—

Where Servius his commentator explains the word "extremi," by adding, "quasi a consortio communitatis remoti." Horace, too, under the impression of the same sentiments, calls the Indians "extremos," and "haud ante domabiles." Many other passages might be adduced, if necessary, from various authors, to prove what obscure and erroneous notions prevailed among the antients concerning India and its inhabitants.

It was not until the expedition of Alexander, described with such accuracy by Arrian, and with such elegance by the more ornamental pen of Quintus Curtius, that this remote region became more particularly known to the Greeks. Of how little genuine information upon this point, even they were previously in possession, is evident from the gross mistake into which that prince, who was by no means an inattentive observer of nature, nor unaccompanied, we must suppose, by men of science in his Indian incursion, unaccountably fell in imagining, on his arrival at the Indus, that he

* Eclogue viii. l. 44,

† The Garamantes were a barbarous nation, situate on the confines of Ethiopia Propria.

had discovered the sources of the Nile*. That mighty river, he supposed, after rolling through immense unexplored deserts, poured, by some unknown tract, its rapid stream into Ethiopia, where it lost the name of Indus and assumed the appellation of the Egyptian river. He was confirmed in this strange conjecture by the appearance, says Arrian, of crocodiles in the stream of the Indus, and of beans growing on its banks similar to those which grew on the shore of the Nile, as well as by the recollection that Homer had called the Nile Ægyptus on its entering Egypt; a circumstance which seemed to prove that it acquired, in its progress, the name of the various countries through which it passed. Experience, diligently sought and finally obtained, after a long series of peril and difficulty, taught the Macedonian invader, as far at least as his army penetrated, a truer notion of the geography of India.

The natural and ardent avidity of mankind after whatever delights by its novelty, or astonishes by its singularity, induced, however, many of those who sought for glory in an In-

* Προτερον μεν γε εν τῳ Ινδῳ ποταμῳ κροκοδειλους ιδων, μονῳ των αλλων ποταμων πλην Νειλου, προς δε ταις οχθαις του Ακεσινου κυαμους πεφυκοτας, οποιους ἡ γη εκφερει ἡ Αιγυπτια· και ακουσας οτι ὁ Ακεσινης εμβαλλει εις τον Ινδον ποταμον, εδοξεν εξευρηκεναι του Νειλου τας αρχας. Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 1.

dian

dian campaign, in some instances, to listen with too ready an ear to the exaggerated tales which national bigotry reported; while the desire of human distinction urged them to multiply those fictions, in order to excite more forcibly the attention, and secure more permanently the admiration, of their countrymen. Strabo, who was a writer equally learned and judicious, severely censures* both Megasthenes and Onesicritus, two officers of high repute for literature and of exalted station in the army of Alexander, for the absurd and incredible stories they propagated concerning the Indian country and people. At the same time, he gives us himself, in the fifteenth book of his invaluable treatise of Antient Geography, the most authentic and faithful accounts at that time known of the divisions and subdivisions of India, interspersed with many sublime moral reflections and entertaining historical relations; which demonstrate him not only the man of taste and erudition, but the profound philosopher. Indeed, nobody could possibly write on that subject with a better grace or more indubitable information than himself, as he had added practice to theory, and had travelled over half the countries which his instructive volumes describe. After this particu-

* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 65.

lar mention of Strabo, it would be unjust not to take as particular notice of Ptolemy, the greatest mathematician and astronomer of his age, whose geographical history and tables must ever continue to be of the most important use to those who tread that barren path of antiquity. Born in the neighbouring kingdom of Egypt, he had every opportunity of exploring, he is therefore entitled to every credit in elucidating, the subject of which we now treat; and, accordingly, both Ptolemy and Strabo are constantly consulted as the most certain guides in illustrating the geography of antient countries.

The rich and extensive region of India, according to these * and other respectable geographers of antiquity, was divided by the river Ganges into two parts, which they denominated India intra Gangem and India extra Gangem, a mode of division that still very generally prevails. Of India intra Gangem, the principal theatre of the events recorded in these pages, Nature herself seems to have fixed the eternal boundaries; for, on the west it is terminated by the great and rapid river Indus†; on the north and north-west, by that stupendous chain of mountains to which the antients gave the ge-

* Ptolemæi Geogr. lib. vii. Strabonis Geogr. lib. xv.
† That is, by its most westerly branch.

neral

neral name of Caucasus*; on the east, by the sacred waters of the Ganges; and on the south it is embraced by the Mare Erythræum, or Indian Ocean. It must, however, be observed, that the accurate Ptolemy does not absolutely assert the Indus to be the boundary of India Propria on the west: for, he assigns as its confines on that side, the territory of the Paropamisadæ (the Afghans of the present day); the province of Arachosia, the modern Zablestan; and that of Gedrosia, at present denominated Mocran. The reason and propriety of Ptolemy's fixing these provinces rather than the Indus as its western termination, will be hereafter more clearly evinced, by a quotation from an author in elegance and accuracy hardly inferior to himself, when we come to consider Hindostan according to the divisions of the Orientals themselves. These provinces, indeed, seem to be considered by Pliny† rather as a part of the Indian than the Persian empire: to which he adds that of Aria, whose capital is the modern Herat: for this, however, he is con-

* The different regions of this vast chain were distinguished by the particular names of Paropamisus, Taurus, Emodus, and Imaus. Thus Pliny: "Junguntur inter se Imaus, Emodus, Paropamisus, Caucasus, a quibus tota decurrit India in planitiem immensam et Ægypto similem." Plinius, lib. vi. cap. 17.

† Plinius, lib. vi. cap. 20.

demned

demned by Cellarius, who observes*, "Quod de quatuor præfecturis Plinius dicit, videtur nimis lata terminorum extensio."

Of the cities lying on the western confines of India Propria, the most eminent (for I shall confine myself, in this geographical sketch, to the consideration of those only which were distinguished by their opulence and power) was Taxila, situated on the eastern bank of the Indus, on the site, as it is supposed, where the castle and city of Attock now stands. This was the flourishing capital of Taxiles, an Indian prince, or rajah, who, on the approach of Alexander, convinced, perhaps, that all opposition to so formidable a power would be in vain, went forth with considerable presents to appease and join the invader. Taxila is described by Strabo † as the metropolis of a kingdom situated between the Indus and Hydaspes, in extent as large as Egypt, well planted, and exceedingly fruitful. The city itself was not less distinguished by the elegance of its structure than by the wisdom of those just political institutions by which it was governed. Taxiles, like Porus, seems to have been rather a name common to a race of kings than the peculiar

* Cellarii Geographia Antiqua, lib. iii. cap. 23.
† Strabo, lib. xv. p. 480.

appellation of one sovereign. The reigning prince of that name was the determined enemy of Porus; and it was chiefly by means of the information he received from this traitor that Alexander was enabled to prosecute his hostile design upon that remote country.

As it will be of material importance towards rightly understanding that portion of the Indian history which records the circumstance of Alexander's celebrated invasion, to have a clear idea of its geography, we shall, in this place, assisted by the Memoir of Major Rennel on the subject, endeavour to trace the progress of that conqueror through the region to which the natives themselves have allotted the name of Panjab, or the country of five rivers, from its being intersected by the five eastern branches of the Indus. By our constantly giving, when we have any tolerable authority to guide us, the modern, together with the antient, appellation of any place, readers of every class will naturally be more interested in the narrative, and the expedition of Alexander will in some degree be cleared from that gloom of mystery and fable in which it hath long been involved.

From Taxila, which Mr Rennel with great probability supposes to stand on the site of the present Attock, because it appears to have been

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in all ages the pass on the Indus leading from Cabul and Candahar into India, and because (he adds, in the words of Fraser) "Attock is the only place where, from the stream being less rapid, an army can conveniently pass;— from that celebrated capital, where he refreshed himself and his army for some days, the Macedonian conqueror advanced to the bank of the Hydaspes, the most westerly of the five rivers, called in modern language the Behat or Chelum, but in the Ayeen* Akbery distinguished by a name somewhat similar in sound to its classical appellation, the Bedusta. It is rather remarkable, that Ptólemy's mode of writing the word comes still nearer to that of the Ayeen Akbery; on which passage Cellarius remarks, "Prave Bedaspen adpellavit Ptolemæus:" but, with great deference to the opinion of the learned, from the high corroborating authority of the Ayeen Akbery, I contend that Ptolemy's may be the true reading. The Bidaspes is represented as a noble river, which, taking its rise in the Indian Caucasus, mingles its waters with those of the Acesines, and at length, together with that river, rolls into the Indus at Multan. It seems to have been the boundary between the kingdom of

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 232.

Taxilus

Taxilus and that most formidable of Indian warriors, the renowned Porus.

Concerning Porus himself, and the extent of his dominions, many discordant and very unsatisfactory accounts have been given, both by antient and modern writers. The subject will more properly come under our consideration hereafter; and therefore it will be sufficient in this place to insert a remark of Sir W. Jones*, that his capital was most probably Lahor, or Lawhore, the present metropolis of Panjab, whose name is often applied to the province itself. Lahore, or Lehawer, as it is said in the Ayeen Akbery to have been called in antient astronomical tables, was undoubtedly in antient times a very considerable kingdom, and no other city in its neighbourhood seems of consequence enough to have been the capital of so celebrated a prince as Porus. With the greatest deference, however, to the high authority just mentioned, I must remark, that the kingdom of Porus is expressly affirmed by Strabo † to be the country "between the Hydaspes and the Acesines; extensive, opulent, and

* Short Description of Asia prefixed to Nadir Shah.

† *Μεταξυ δε του Ὑδασπου και του Ακεσινου, ητε του Πωρου εςι γη πολλη και αγαθη, σχεδον τι και περι τριαχοσιων πολεων.* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 663.

containing near three hundred towns." Concerning these, however, Cellarius remarks*, that many of them might have been mere villages. Lahore is situated on the Hydraotes, or Rauvee.

Amidst a violent storm of hail and lightning, which concealed his army, and which may in some degree account for the traditionary story mentioned by Mr Hamilton†, that he was a great magician, Alexander, in spite of the army of Porus, drawn up on the opposite shore, passed the Bidaspes, according to Mr Rennel's supposition, at the place where the fortress of Rotas now stands; and, after defeating that prince in a regular engagement, advanced to the banks of the second river of the Panjab, called by the antients the Acesines, but known to the present Indians by the name of Jenaub. This branch of the Indus is represented by Arrian‡ as exceedingly broad, deep, rapid, and abounding with rocks, which subjected both the invader and his army to the most imminent danger. On the spot where he defeated Porus, he erected a city in memory of the victory, which he called Nicæa; and another he denominated Bucephala, in honour

* Cellarii Geog. Ant. tom. secund. p. 529.

† See Hamilton's Voyage to the East Indies, vol. i. p. 128.

‡ Arrian lib. v. p. 222. editio Gronovii.

of his favourite horse Bucephalus, who died in this expedition of extreme old age, according to Arrian being on the verge of thirty. The former of these cities, we are informed by Ptolemy, was situated on the eastern shore of the Bidaspes; the latter near the western bank, on the site where his camp had stood. No more particular notice is taken of Nicæa by the antients than what is related above; nor can I find a town in the map of modern India corresponding with it in situation. Lahore has indeed been supposed by some writers to be the antient Bucephala; and Bernier, when he was at that city, made some inquiry into the truth of that supposition, but remarks, that, "though Alexander is sufficiently known there under the name of Sekander Filifous, that is, Alexander, son of Philip, as to his horse, they know it not*."

Having arrived, with some loss, on the eastern bank of the Acesines, or Jenaub, Alexander, impatient to reach the Ganges, pressed on with rapidity towards the third river, called by Strabo the Hyarotes, by Arrian the Hydraotes, and by Ptolemy the Rhuadis, or Adris. In the Ayeen Akbery†, however, it is called

* See Bernier's third letter in his Journey to Cashmire.

† Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 131.

the Iyrawuttee, which bears a striking resemblance to Hyarotes; but Rhuadis seems to be most consonant to its present name, which is that of Rauvee. The Memoir supposes him to have passed the Rauvee on the spot where Lahore now stands. Being arrived in the territory of the Adraistæ, and having compelled Pimprama their capital to capitulate, Alexander found a new and most formidable foe to encounter in the united forces of the Cathæi, the Malli, and the Oxydracæ. The city which their combined army attempted to defend against the veteran Greeks was called Sangala, which Mr Rennel thinks was situated between Lahore and Multan, and considerably out of the direct route to the Ganges. It is but in very few instances that we are able to trace any remote similitude between the antient and modern names of a country and people so little known to the antients as those of India. The voluntary migration of some nations to happier climes and wealthier regions, the necessary dispersion of others by invasion and conquest, the fluctuation to which languages are subject, the alteration of the beds of rivers, and many other natural and accidental causes; concur to render every attempt of this kind most uncertain and precarious. Although the exact site

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of Sangala cannot now be ascertained, it may not be improper to remark, that Mr Hamilton mentions, among the nations inhabiting to the south of the mouths of the Indus, a fierce race of naval robbers, called Sanganians, from Sangania, a province of Guzerat; and the same tract, at the period of the voyage of Nearchus, was possessed by a people called Sangadians.

Of the Cathæai, the Oxydracæ, and the Malli, since they are said to have been the most powerful and warlike nations of India, it is necessary to give an account somewhat more particular, however imperfect and unsatisfactory. Kathai, or Kathay, the eastern appellation of China, being a word of Tartar extraction, and in use, as may be proved from Curtius and Strabo, among the Asiatic Scythians in the time of Alexander, has afforded opportunity of conjecture that the Tartars had even at the time of this expedition extended their frontiers on that side as far as the Hyphasis, or Setledge, in whose neighbourhood the antients have fixed the residence of the Cathæai, and thus had already in some degree laid the basis of their future consequence and grandeur in Hindostan. This early connection between the northern Indians and their Tartar neighbours is rendered probable, by the consideration that in some in-

stances the languages of the two nations are not dissimilar, since many words occur in each language which have a kindred orthography and signification. Indeed Mr Hadley*, in his Grammar of the Hindostan Language, seems to hint the possibility of its being originally derived from their Tartar invaders; and gives a remarkable instance of that similarity in the name of the most celebrated conqueror of India, whose descendants for three hundred years swayed the imperial sceptre: "The signification of Tamerlane (properly Timur Lung) is Lame Timur; and the word used to express Lame, in Hindostan at this day, is Lungrau." Of this origin probably were the Cathæai, whose manly and intrepid fortitude, displayed in the defence of Sangala, seems to justify their descent from so bold and hardy a race†.

The Oxydracæ seem to have been situated at the confluence of the Hydraotes and the Acesines, that is, the Rauvee and Jenaub, in a direction south-west of the Cathæai; and it is possible, observes the Memoir, that the present

* See Hadley's Grammar, p. 13.

† It must not be forgotten, that the Cathæi are called, in some antient authors who have treated of Indian affairs, Cuthei, which rather tends to corroborate than invalidate this conjecture; for, hence the word Scuthe or Scythe has by some learned etymologists been deduced.

city of Outch, or Atcha, might be the capital of that martial race. Mr R. is of opinion that Alexander never penetrated into their domain, but only passed its limits on the coast. He has marked near the banks of the Hydraotes the probable situation of that city, in the furious escalade of whose walls the hero, who had been flattered in Persia with the honours of deity, for the second time in this Indian campaign found himself to be a mortal. The city of Outch is at present included in the province of Multan.

Of the Malli and their situation we are enabled, from a combination of local circumstances that point out their residence, to speak with greater certainty; for they inhabited a region still more to the south-west, near the shore of the main stream of the Indus; "and their capital," says Mr Rennel, "was doubtless Multan." It may be proper, however, in this place to note, that the Dutch traveller, Nieuhoff, mentions a hardy and warlike nation, called Malleans, whose residence is on the tops of the high mountains of Malabar, and whom he supposes to be the same people with the Malli mentioned by Plutarch and Curtius. He describes them as differing from the Malabars in their complexion, religion, and manners, and

superior to them in bravery, ingenuity, and honesty. Their principal amusement is hunting amidst the thick forests where they reside, and where they catch in pits the elephant and tyger: they are governed by laws peculiar to themselves, are scattered through several districts, in bodies of about five or six thousand people, and each district has its separate judge or captain. Mallcam, their country, is situated on the mountains of Balagaut, about 150 miles north of Cape Comorin, and appears in the new map of Indostan about the latitude of 10° 40″.

Having taken Sangala, and, urged by a spirit of revenge for its resolute resistance unworthy so great a conqueror, having afterwards rased it to the ground, Alexander returned, and, pursuing his progress towards the Ganges, arrived at the fifth branch of the Indus, and most easterly river of India, which he passed in this expedition, called by Pliny the Hypanis, by Arrian and Curtius the Hyphasis, and by Ptolemy the Zaradrus. The name of Zaradrus alone bears any resemblance to its modern appellation, which is that of Suttuluz, or Setledge. In the Ayeen Akbery* it is said anticently to have been called Shetooder. On the

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 134.

eastern bank of that river the adventurous Macedonian paused, not from any latent conviction of the impracticability of his ambitious project, but in constrained obedience to the united voice of his army, who refused to follow him over that dreary desart of twelve days journey which still lay between them and the Ganges, and to engage in unequal contest with the innumerable armies which they were informed the powerful and warlike nations that dwelt on its banks were able to pour into the field. The reader, by looking into the map adapted to the geography of Ptolemy, will observe, that the Zaradrus is formed by the confluence of two rivers. To the western stream Ptolemy himself gives the name of Bipasis. And here again we find a considerable resemblance between Ptolemy and the Ayeen Akbery *; for the Bipasis is called in the Ayeen Akbery Beypassa, although Cellarius again observes: "Ptolemæus vitiose Bipasis pro Hypasis legit." It is to the eastern current and the main stream, after this confluence, that he applies the appellation of Zaradrus. Consonant to this is the remark of the Memoir, which I shall take the liberty to transcribe in the au-

* *Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 254.*

thor's

thor's own words. "The fourth river of the Panjab is the Beah, or Biah; and the fifth is the Setlege, or Suttuluz. The two rivers unite about mid-way between their springs and their junction with the Indus, and their mixt waters properly bear the name of Setlege. The Setlege, thus formed by the joint waters of the two rivers, is the Hyphasis of Alexander, and is a very considerable river, being navigable two hundred miles above its conflux with the Indus. It passes from the south of, and not far from the city of, Moultan; and, about eighty miles below it, falls into the Indus." From the circumstance of the desert's being between Alexander and the Ganges, which is really the case between the lower parts of the Setledge and that river, (whereas the space between it and the Beah is fertile and well inhabited,) Mr R. supposes the Macedonian encampment to have been between Adjodin, the antient Ardone, and Debalpour, marked in the map of Ptolemy Dædalla. There he erected those enormous altars, threw up those stupendous mounds, and fabricated those gigantic pieces of armour, by which, says Diodorus, he meant at once to amuse and to deceive posterity.

Had the army of Alexander pursued their march towards the banks of the Ganges, in a few days they would have arrived at another considerable river of India Propria, called by Pliny the Jomanes, and in modern language the Jumna, upon which the city of Delhi stands. In the Ayeen Akbery the Jomanes is called the Jown. Delhi was, at the period of this invasion, a place of little importance, having been but newly founded, according to Ferishta, by Delu the usurper of the throne of Indostan, and uncle of the Phoor, or Porus, who opposed the forces of Alexander. The vast city of Canouge, or Kinoje, was at that time, and had been for many successive centuries, the imperial residence of its monarchs; and hardly any fact SEEMED to admit of stronger evidence than that which Mr R. in the first edition of his Memoir, has laboured to establish, — that the famous Palibothra of the antients is not Halabas, or Allahabad, as D'Anville and almost all modern geographers have agreed, but this very antient capital of Canouge. Late inquiries, however, made on the spot, evince that Palibothra stood on or very near the site of the present Patna, and was known to the natives by the name of Pataliputra. Between the Indus and the Hydaspes, Pliny reckons 120 miles,

Mr

Mr R. 135; between the Hydaspes and Hyphasis, Pliny reckons 390 miles, Mr R. 350; between the Hyphasis (that is, the part below the conflux of the Bea, where Alexander erected his altars) and Jomanes is 336 miles, according to Mr R. and thence to the Ganges 112 miles.

The Ayeen Akbery having given the reverse of the distances between the five rivers of the Panjab, by the measurement of the Indian cose, I shall conclude this account of its rivers with an extract from that book*: "From the Suttuluz to the Beah, the distance is 50 cose; from the Beah to the Rauvee, 17 cose; from the Rauvee to the Jenaub, 30 cose; from the Jenaub to the Behat, 20 cose; from the Behat to the Sind, 68 cose." The cose is about two English miles.

Returning, after this considerable digression, to the banks of the Indus, as we descend southward along the eastern shore, the map of antient geography exhibits to our view the country of the Brachmanes, whose patriotic exertions in favour of their invaded country drew down upon them the severe vengeance of the Macedonian tyrant; the kingdom of the Sa-

* Ayeen Akberry, vol. ii. p. 132.

bracæ,

bracæ, a powerful republic according to Curtius; of the Sogdii, in whose country he built another city, which he called Alexandria; of the Musiçani, whose king, revolting after submission, he ordered to be crucified; of the Præsti, whose more determined sovereign, Oxycanus, died bravely fighting for his country: the rich empire of Sabus, whose capital of Sindomana opened its gates without opposition to receive the triumphant conqueror; and, finally, the noble island of Pattala, the present Tatta, where he constructed docks and refitted his fleet for a still more daring expedition.

Of places on the modern map, corresponding in situation with that of the people and regions above-mentioned, Mr R. only particularises Bhakor, which, he observes, answers to the position and description of the country of the Musicani; and Hajacan, now a circar or division of Sindy, which he conjectures to have been the territory of Oxycanus: he subjoins, that, in Sindomana, we may recognise the country of Sindy itself, or at least that through which the river Sinde, the domestic appellation of the Indus, flows in the latter part of its course.

Southward of the mouths of the Indus we find the Canthi Sinus; that is, the gulph of Sindy, or Cutch: and the great maritime city

and port of Barygaza, which likewise gave its name to the neighbouring gulph, now called Cambay. Barygaza may be the modern Bargant, or probably Baroach, a city standing on the banks of the river Nerbuddah, the Nomadus of Ptolemy. To this emporium all the riches of the peninsula were antiently brought, through the Balagaut mountains, from the rich and celebrated cities of Tagara and Pluthana, the Deoghir and Pultanah of the moderns*. On the Sinus Barygazenus, stood Supara, probably Chitpore, which Cellarius says has been taken for the Ophir of Scripture, though others, among whom is Josephus, suppose it to have been the Aurea Chersonesus, because abounding with all the commodities which Solomon received from Ophir. Farther southward is Simyllæ Emporium, corresponding in situation to Swalley, on the river Tapti, the antient Binda. To the south of the Simyllæ Promontorium, among many obscure cities, we may notice Tyndis, which Mr R. supposes to have stood on the site of Goa; Calecaris, the modern Calicut; Balepatna, probably Balipatan; and Byzantium and Muziris, two considerable marts of India, but greatly infested by pirates,

* See Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 371.

as indeed the neighbourhood is at this day. Muziris, Mr R. inclines to think, is the modern Merjee or Meerzaw; Nitrias, the seat of those pirates, the present Newtya; and Barace, Barcelore. Below the river Baris were situated Elancon Emporium and Cottiora Metropolis; at the extreme southern point, the town and promontory of Comar, which answers to Cape Comorin; and to the south-east of that cape the great island of Taprobana or Ceylone.

Having passed round the Comarian promontory, called by the Indians Gebal Kamarum, the map of Ptolemy presents to our view the Sinus Colchicus, which is separated from the Sinus Argaricus (so called from Colchi and Argari, two cities of commercial eminence on the coast) by the promontory of Cory, or Colis, and near it stands the insula Cory, now called Ramankoil, or the temple of Rama. The famous ridge of rocks extending from this island to Manar, on the island of Ceylone, called Adam's Bridge, Sir W. Jones contends should be entitled Rama's Bridge*; and the present name of this promontory and island strengthens his remark. Madura Regia Pandionis must doubtless mean the Madura of modern maps;

* See Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 257.

Nigamma

Nigamma Metropolis answers to Nega-patan; Chaberi Ostia and Chaberi Emporium indisputably point out the port of the river Caveri and city of Caveri-patan; Melange, or rather Maliarpha Emporium, not far distant upon the coast, seems to be Meliapour, or Malliapore, as Hamilton writes it; Puducc, Pullicat; and Sobura, Soopour. Entering the great Sinus Gangeticus, or Gulph of Bengal, we find Cottobara, perhaps Devi-cotta, or Cotta-patan; and Sippora, plainly Narsipoor. Mesolia marks the district of Masulipatan; Cocola is undoubtedly Cicacole; and Cosamba answers in situation to Balasore. Near the mouths of the Ganges were seated the Calingæ. A city denominated Calingipatam is marked on Mr R.'s map; and it is not impossible that the once impregnable fortress of Callinger, in the Soobah of Allahabad, of so great antiquity, that the Ayeen Akbery says*, "no one can tell by whom it was founded," might have owed to them its name and existence.

The Ganga Regia of Ptolemy, Mr R. informs us, has been supposed to be Gour or Lucknowti, whose extensive and stupendous ruins seem to justify the assertion; and higher

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 36.

up,

up, on the main stream of the Ganges, the two most potent nations of India, the Gangarides and the Prasii, or, as Ptolemy calls them, Prasiatæ, had their residence. Athenagarum, from its situation, Mr R. supposes to be Oude; the Uxentius Mons, the hills of Bundelcund and Bahar; Maliba, Matura; Panassa, Panna, the famous diamond-mine; and Palibothra, Pataliputra, or Patna. Of the Gangarides, who are sometimes called Calingæ Gangaridæ, from being intermixed with the Calingæ, Gangia Regia was probably the capital; but the great city of Palibothra, which not only gave law but name to a vast surrounding district, was the celebrated metropolis of the Prasii. They were, indeed, frequently denominated thence Palibothri, and their king Palibothrus; and so formidable were they in the field, that the soldiers of Alexander, as we have before hinted, terrified at the accounts brought to them of their intrepidity and resources, refused to pass the Hyphasis, and advance to the banks of the Ganges, even when within twelve days march of that river.

With respect to the nations that inhabited the inland regions of the peninsula, nothing decisive can be ascertained concerning them from the accounts of authors commonly called

 classical;

classical; for, as the Greeks had very imperfect and inadequate ideas of the parts of India which they did traverse, it is not to be supposed they could arrive at any very authentic information concerning the parts which they did not explore. To this dearth of geographical knowledge, their total ignorance of the Indian language not a little contributed; and their fondness for moulding foreign names to a Grecian form has added much to the confusion in which both the history and geography of that people are involved. This custom was so prevalent among them, that Sir William Jones has remarked that there is hardly an Asiatic word, beside Por, or Porus, which they have not corrupted. Who, indeed, could have imagined, that out of Ucha,* the name of an Indian nation, Oxydracæ, a compound Greek word, signifying *sharp-sighted*, should have been formed and applied in their history to that people; that Gogra should be converted into Agoramis; and Renas into Aornus? By indulging their fancy in this romantic manner, they have thrown difficulties, almost insuperable, in the way of the geographer and the historian; and they have nearly defeated the

* See, on this subject, Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 2.

end which their vanity had in view, by obscuring their brightest exploits and giving their victories almost the air of fiction. Instead, therefore, of engaging farther in useless discussions relative to the names and situation of the various inferior cities of antient India, let us direct our attention to the capital; an object at once magnificent and interesting, and of which their accounts are more particular as well as more uniform.

CHAP. II.

Of the Extent and Grandeur of the City of Palibothra, the supposed Capital of antient India, according to the classical Writers of Greece and Rome.—The Accounts given by Oriental Writers of the Magnificence of Canouge, its Metropolis in less remote Æras.—A short historical Account of the Capitals of Delhi, Lahore, and Agra.

THE riches, the splendour, and magnitude, of a capital are the msot decisive proof of the extended commerce, the power, and consequence, of an empire. In reviewing the antient glory of each successive metropolis of India, we shall be led to admire the genius and industry of that celebrated people, and the wisdom and policy of their governors, who raised it to that degree of superior eminence.

Although it be now determined that Palibothra and Canouge were not the same capitals, yet the circumstances that led to that

conjecture

conjecture are very strong, and deserve some notice.

Palibothra is placed on the map* of Ptolemy in the 27th degree of north latitude; in Mr R.'s map Canouge is fixed in latitude 27° 3′, an inconsiderable difference indeed, when we recollect that the one is the most antient and the other the most modern map extant. Indeed it is worthy of remark, and greatly to the honour of Ptolemy's fidelity, that, on a comparison of the latitudes of five different places betweeen the Indus and Ganges, Mr R. found the greatest difference to be only twelve minutes between the latitudes of that geographer and his own. Palibothra, he observed, in the former edition of his Memoir,† is placed by Ptolemy between the towns of Maliba on the west and Athenagarum on the east. The latitude given for Palibothra is within three miles of that of Canouge: now, the latitudes of Maliba and Athenagarum are nearly those of Matura and Audiah, or Oude; and the proportional distances of the former from Palibothra answer minutely to those of the latter from Canouge.

* Ptolomæi Geograph. Asiæ, Tab. 10.

† Memoir, first edition, p. 42.

But the great circumstance that seemed to place the supposition of Mr R. beyond all doubt was, the relation given us of the astonishing opulence and splendour of Palibothra in all the antient writers of foreign extraction, and the corroborating testimony of the native historian of India, in regard to Canouge, who, in their description of this great city, fill us with the loftiest notions of its power, extent, population, and grandeur. Mr R. has presented us with a cursory account of both those cities; but I shall take a more extensive retrospect of the history of those celebrated places, and consider what may be collected from writers of most antient date, compared with more modern accounts. Pliny, speaking of the capital of the Prasii, says: "*Omnium in India prope, non modo in hoc tractu, potentiam claritatemque antecedunt Prasii, amplissima urbe ditissimaque Palibotra.*" * Ptolemy denominates it Παλιβοθρα Βασιλειον, the royal Palibothra; and Strabo,† from the account of Megasthenes, who had been there, particularises its situation, extent, and dimensions. He asserts that it was situated at the conflux of another river with the Ganges; that its figure was quandrangular;

* Plinius, lib. vi. cap. 19. † Strabo, lib. xv. p. 667.

that

that in length it was eighty stadia, in breadth fifteen stadia; that it had a fortification of wood, with turrets for the archers to shoot from; and was surrounded by a vast ditch, as well for the sake of defence as to receive the filth of so large a city.

Arrian* calls it μεγιςην πολιν Ινδοισιν, the greatest city among the Indians; and adds, that it was situated at the point of confluence of the Erannaboa and the Ganges. By the Erannaboa he is supposed to have meant the Jomanes, and he writes the word Palimbothra. He gives the same number of stadia for its length and breadth as Strabo; mentions the prodigious fosse, whose breadth was εξαπλεθρον, *sex jugerum*, and forty-five feet deep, that there were on its walls five hundred and seventy towers, and that it had sixty-five gates. Such is the account given of the city itself by those antient geographers, by Pliny and Arrian.

Of the vast power and military forces of the reigning sovereigns of Palibothra we find particular mention made in the historians Diodorus Siculus, in Curtius, in Justin, and Plutarch, from whose accounts we should be led to think that the kings of the Præsii and Gangarides, on

* Arrianus, p. 324.

any national emergency, constantly united their armies, or at least were joined in the strictest bonds of alliance, for their names are invariably mentioned together. The king of the Gangarides was most probably a rajah tributary to the supreme rajah of Palibothra, or, as was formerly conjectured, Canouge.

Diodorus* informs us, that, when Alexander had passed the Hyphasis, he was informed, that, if he continued his progress towards the Ganges, after crossing a desert of twelve (Curtius says eleven) days journey, he would meet on the banks of that river the most formidable sovereign of India, called Xambranes, king of the Gangarides, a name which seems here intended to include both nations, at the head of an army of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, two thousand chariots of war, and four thousand fighting elephants. Curtius calls† the king of the Gangarides and Pharrasis, by which he must mean the Prasians of other writers, Agrammes, asserts that he guarded the frontiers of his dominions with twenty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, and that he could bring into the field two thousand chariots and three

* Diod Sic. lib. xvii. p. 678. † Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 2.

thousand elephants. Plutarch * computes the power and forces of these mighty kings at a still more extravagant rate; for he says, their combined army amounted to eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eighty thousand armed chariots, and six thousand elephants of war. Convinced that the magnitude of these forces would appear incredible to his readers, he assures them it was no idle report; for that Sandrocottus, (the Sinsarchund of Ferishtah's Indian history,) who was then but a youth, and saw Alexander in his camp, some years afterwards conquered all these countries with an army of six hundred thousand men; and bought the friendship of Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, with a present of five hundred elephants. Sandrocottus told the ambassadors of Seleucus, that the prince at that time reigning was detested for his cruelty and despised for the meanness of his extraction; and that most probably, if Alexander had pushed on to the Ganges, he would have been victorious over him, from the general disaffection that reigned among his troops. Curtius†

* Plut. in Vita Alex.

† *Ceterum qui regnant, non modo ignobilem esse sed etiam ultimæ sortis: quippe patrem ejus tonsorem vix diurno quæstu propulsantem famam.* Curtius, editio Snakemb. tom. ii. p. 679.

relates the same circumstances of Agrammes, which word is perhaps only a corruption of Xambranes; adding, that his father was of the basest rank of plebeians, and with difficulty subsisted by following the occupation of a barber; but that having, from the beauty of his person, attracted the notice of the reigning queen, she had exalted him to a share of her bed; in return for which instance of royal condescension, the ungrateful wretch had murdered his sovereign, usurped her kingdom, and massacred the lawful heir of the throne, to make way for the elevation of his own son to empire.

Justin* gives to Alexander the honour of conquering the Gangarides, but mentions another nation, by the name of Cuphites, (Grævius his commentator thinks it should be Sophites, but both are probably mistaken in the name,) who are ready to engage him with two hundred thousand horse, but with whom his harassed soldiers refused to fight, demanding to be led back to their native county, that their mangled and emaciated carcases might at last find rest in the sepulchres of their fathers.

But it is now time to inquire whether the accounts given us of Canouge, by the Oriental

* Justinus, lib. xii. cap. 8.

historians,

historians, in any degree equal the lofty description of Palibothra above-recited.

The same elegant and learned Abul Fazil, who, at the command of Sultan Akber, compiled the Ayeen Akbery, also translated, by the desire of his master, the famous Indian historical poem called the Mahabbarat, or History of the great War. In the Mahabbarat, Owde, the capital of a province of the same name to the north-east of Bengal, is said to have been the first regular imperial city of Hindostan. It was built in the reign of Krishen, one of the most antient rajahs, a name which is likewise applied to the deity of the Hindoos. "That antient city," says Sir W. Jones, in the Asiatic Researches,* "extended, if we may believe the Bramins, over a line of ten yojans, or about forty miles; and the present city of Lucknow was only a lodge for one of its gates. It is supposed to have been the birth-place of Rama." The Ayeen Akbery† reports Owde to have been in antient time 148 coss in length and 36 coss in breadth. According to the Mahabbarat, Owde continued the imperial city during the space of about fifteen hundred years, when one of the

* See Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 259.

† Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 41.

princes

princes of the dynasty of the Surajahs, a race who boasted their name and descent from the Sun, erected upon the banks of the Ganges the great city of Canouge, the circumference of whose walls is there said to have been fifty coss, or one hundred miles.

This event took place about the year 1000, before the Christian æra. The simple and pure worship of the Deity, prescribed by Brahma, is said about this period to have degenerated into an idolatrous veneration of the host of heaven and the elements of nature. Temples and images were erected, and sacred rites instituted, in honour of the memory of heroes eminent in the arts or successful in war; and Canouge was adorned with the lofty edifices raised by royal vanity and vulgar superstition.

Sinkol, a native of Canouge, and the third emperor in succession after the extinction of the dynasty above-mentioned, is asserted, in the same book, to have kept up an army, whose magnitude greatly exceeds, in the number of foot and horse, the forces enumerated by Plutarch; and in that of elephants, it is remarkable, exactly equals the amount stated by Diodorus Siculus. Sinkol brought into the field, against Affrasiah, king of Persia, four thousand elephants of war, a hundred thousand

sand horse, and four hundred thousand foot; a force which, except in the number of elephants, ought not to be thought incredible, since (not to mention Xerxes's million) Timur is acknowledged to have had at one time nine hundred thousand men in the field; since Aurengzeb, in this century, maintained a standing force of five hundred thousand men; since the army which followed Mahommed Shah to the plains of Karnal was so vast as to defy computation, and, according to the strong impression of a modern writer, "to be famished by its own numbers;" and since a Soobahdar of the Decan, almost in our own times, could bring into the field an army of eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot.

The son and successor of Sinkol dying without issue to inherit the throne, we are told Canouge was involved in civil distractions: but afterwards we find Delu, the founder of Delhi, reigning in peace and splendour upon its throne, till invaded by the usurper Foor, (the father of that Porus who was the antagonist of Alexander,) who took him prisoner and ravaged his metropolis, but seems not to have made it the seat of his empire.

Sinsarchund, or Sandrocottus, the successor of Porus, who took advantage of the convulsed

state of the empire, occasioned by that invasion, to raise himself to the throne, at the head of an immense army, restored to Canouge the honour of being the capital of Hindostan, and received there the ambassadors of Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, among whom was Megasthenes, the principal negotiator between the two monarchs, about three hundred years before the Christian æra. Jona, the second in succession from Sinsarchund, is said not only to have reigned himself in great tranquillity at Canouge, but his posterity afterwards are related to have peaceably possessed the throne during a period of ninety years.

Callian Chund, a warlike and sanguinary prince, who reigned over Hindostan about 170 years before Christ, and may possibly be the Demetrius of Justin,* is said in Ferishtah to have been driven, on account of his tyranny, from the throne, by a general insurrection of the rajahs dependent upon his authority. With him the regular empire of India may be said to have fallen; for, after this event, many years of discord and anarchy ensued, and each more powerful rajah became alternately a competitor for the supreme authority.

* See Justin, lib. xli. cap. 6.

A long period of obscurity in the history of the kings of Canouge now succeeds; but in this dearth of Indian history we may derive a glimmering of information from the Roman annals; where we are informed, that, in the time of Augustus, an Indian embassy arrived at Rome from a monarch of the name of Porus, who boasted in his letters that six hundred kings or rajahs were tributary to him; which, if true, could only be true of the supreme lord or emperor of Hindostan. Now, Jona in Ferishtah is said to have been a grand nephew of Foor, and it is not impossible that one of the same family might have headed the rebellious rajahs, and fixed the supreme dominion once more in his own martial line. This disquisition, however, more properly belongs to the general history of India, than to this abridged account of Canouge and its kings. I shall therefore pass on to the regin of Basdeo, that monarch, who, according both to Persian and Hindoo writers, entertained in this capital Baharam Gore, king of Iran, or Persia, who had come, in the disguise of a merchant, to explore the truth of what he had heard concerning its vast opulence and the grandeur of its monarch. In the neighbourhood of this city he is said to have met with a wild elephant,

phant, who, in the season of lust, had rushed furiously from the woods, and, attacking Baharam, was slain by him. The celebrity he acquired by this feat was the means of his introduction to the notice of the king, at whose court he was known by some nobles who had been in Persia, and reluctantly constrained to assume his proper character, in which he was treated with the utmost magnificence, and in the end espoused the only daughter of the Indian monarch.*

Who were the two Phraotes, father and son, who reigned in India when Apollonius Tyanæus, according to his biographer Philostratus, visited that country in the first century, the scanty records we have of Indian affairs at this period will not guide us in determining; they were, however, probably among the number of those more formidable rajahs, who, during the civil commotions, rose to the imperial diadem. The same Philostratus informs us, that the kingdom of the antient Porus, on the western side of India, was at the same time governed by Mandrus. I take the kingdom of Mandrus to have been that of Delhi, which was about this time rising into great eminence as the rival metropolis of Canouge.

* Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 138, and Ferishtah, p. 10.

Leaving

Leaving for future consideration the dubious names and characters of the successors of these princes in the sovereignty of India, mentioned either by Indian or Roman historians, we come to the reign of Rhamdeo Rhator, or the Maratta, who, in the beginning of the fifth century, after a campaign of five months, having subdued near FIVE HUNDRED rebellious rajahs and zemeendars, entered Canouge in all the pomp and triumph of a conqueror. In memory of his victories, he made a magnificent festival for his army in that metropolis, and divided among his soldiers the spoils of the vanquished rajahs, distributing to each forty pieces of gold, and throwing to the populace a third part of the amazing booty. He reigned fifty-four years in Canouge, and seems to have established the empire on a new and more permanent basis.

The last king of Canouge, considered as the metropolis of a great empire, was Maldeo, who likewise added the kingdom of Delhi to his dominion. In his reign, that is, in the beginning of the sixth century, we are told that this city was grown so populous, that there were in it thirty thousand shops in which areca or beetle-nut,*

* In the Ayeen Akbery it is said, that the Soobah of Agra, in which Canouge stands, is remarkable for producing very excellent

which the Hindoos almost universally use as the Europeans do tobacco, was sold; and sixty thousand bands of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to the government, resided there: from which circumstance we may judge of the great extent, and, it may be added, the dissipation, of this renowned capital.

From this period we read no more of Canouge as the metropolis of Hindostan; for, Maldeo dying at the end of forty years, and having no issue, every petty rajah again rendered himself independent in his government. It still continued, however, a very magnificent city; its rajah possessed the first rank, both of civil and military distinction; and we find his name particularly mentioned among the five great rajahs who united to oppose the first invasion of Subuctagi, or Sabcktekin, as the Arabians, and D'Herbelot after them, write the word. When Sultan Mahmud Gaznavi, about the year 1000, penetrated through the mountains of Tibet, and invested Canouge, he is said there to have seen a city which raised its head to the firmament, and which in strength and structure might justly boast to have

lent beetle-leaf. In the same book, under Sircar KINOJE, (p. 41,) the reader will notice PUTTYALY and PUTTXALXPOOR.

no equal.* We are informed that its reigning sovereign, Rajah Korrah, affected to live in great pomp and splendour, but that, not being prepared for so unexpected an attack, he surrendered himself and his city to the sultan, who staid in Canouge three days.† Thus Canouge at length became an appendage to the great empire established by Mahmud, from its capital Gazna, called Gaznavide; and we read little more of it worthy notice in the domestic history of India.

Turning to the Ayeen Akbery, and looking for Canouge, under the Soobah in which it is situated, I find nothing descriptive of its antient extent and grandeur, but only the corroborative intelligence, that, "in antient times, Kinoje was the CAPITAL city of Hindostan:" nor is there any historical account, as usual, added to the short geographical sketch of the province. There is, however, a valuable fragment of history annexed to the account of the Soobah of Delhi, which will be of material service to me in the subsequent pages: and in that history there is an allusion to a sovereign of Canouge, which seems to prove, notwithstanding the evidence I have cited to the con-

* Ferishtah, vol. i. p. 27. † Ibid. p. 57.

 trary,

trary, that, so late as the year 588 of the Hegira, or A. D. 1192, the rajah of Canouge was still the supreme sovereign of the empire of Hindostan. Indeed it expresslv affirms it of Rajah Jychund, the prince then reigning; but whether that prince ascended the throne by hereditary right or by violence is not to be ascertained. It is indeed a beautiful story, and, though somewhat romantic towards the conclusion, fully proves the absolute dependance of all the inferior rajahs upon the monarch of Canouge. This, however, is by no means the only evidence which that book supplies in favour of the supposition that Canouge was once the imperial city, not only of a vast kingdom on the Ganges, as is conjectured by Mr Rennel, but of all Hindostan. Although the rajah of Guzzurat, as that gentleman obligingly informed me, might have been the Balhara of Edrisi, yet that, in the early periods of the Hegira, even the remote kingdom of Guzzurat was dependant on the sovereign of Canouge is manifest from the history there given of that Soobah, in which it is expressly asserted, upon the authority of Hindoo annals, that in A. H. 154, Bunsrai became the first independent monarch of Guzzurat, and that the earliest effort of his rebellion was the act " of

seising

seising* the royal treasure which was going to Canouge." If the historical accounts in the Ayeen Akbery are not to be depended upon, where is authenticity to be found? We must at least be guided by them until we can obtain others more genuine; and I shall ever be happy to improve and correct my history by them, when in my power to acquire more certain documents.

The Oriental writers are extravagant in their accounts of the immense wealth acquired by Mahmud in his expedition against Canouge.† They say that India was then divided among several kings, of which one who had the title of Balhara, a word signifying *king of kings*, and reigned at Canouge, was the chief. They affirm the conquest of the kingdom of Balhara, which at length he accomplished, to be the most illustrious of all his exploits; and enumerate the immense wealth and the incredible number of slaves he carried back to Gazna. D'Herbelot, in copying those writers, as I shall hereafter prove, has mis-spelt the word Ki-

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 89.

† Sherifeddin, in his Life of Timur Bec, mentions a Persian history of Mahmud's Indian incursions, called Yemini, which particularly celebrates his conquest of Canouge. Timur Bec, vol. ii. p. 79.

noje;* he writes it Kisraje, and has led the authors of the Modern Universal History, who verbally translate the article from the Bibliotheque Orientale, into the same error.

Sir William Jones,† speaking of this part of India, says: "The antient system of government which prevailed in this country seems to have been perfectly feudal; all the territories were governed by rais, or rajahs, who held their lands of a supreme lord called Belhár, the seat of whose residence was the city of Canouge, now in ruins." The passage in the Ayeen Akbery, referred to above, exhibits a curious proof of this feudal dependance of the subordinate rajahs, and the necessity of their paying homage in person, at stated periods, to the supreme Belhár; for, at a great festival or sacrifice, called Raisoo,‡ at which all the rajahs of Hindostan were obliged to attend, and of which the meanest offices, "even to the duties of the scullery," were performed by rajahs; Pithowra, the rajah of Delhi, from contempt of the sovereign, not attending, "that the festival might not be incomplete," an effigy in

* See D'Herbelot on the article Mahmud Gaznavi; and the Modern Univ. Hist. vol. iii. p. 178, first 8vo. edit.

† Short Hist. of Asia, p. 30.

‡ Raisoo, the same feast of which we read in the Mahabbarat.

gold

gold of the absent rajah was formed, and, by way of retorted contempt, assigned the ignoble office of porter of the gate. The rashness of Pithowra in the end cost him his crown and his life.

The ruins of Canouge, Mr Rennel observes, are even at this day of very great extent; and, from the evidence thus collected together, and apparently inapplicable to any other place on that side of India, it appeared to me sufficiently manifest that Canouge was indisputably the Palibothra of the antients. That idea, however, being now abandoned, we can only solve the difficulty by supposing, with the Memoir, that it is possible both cities might have been occasionally used as capitals of the Prasii, as Delhi and Agra have been in the later periods of the empire in general; and that, in the accounts given of them by foreigners, they have been frequently confounded together, or the one mistaken for the other.

The city of DELHI, according to Ferishtah, was founded by DELU, the usurper of the throne of Hindostan, about 300 years before the commencement of the Christian æra; but, according to the more probable account of the Ayeen Akbery,* Aurungpaul, of the Tenore

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 118.

tribe, was its real founder, in the year 429 of the æra of Bickermajit,* an æra not greatly dissimilar from that of Christ. It was for a series of ages governed by its own rajahs, who seem to have had considerable weight in the empire, and to have been very active in repelling both the antient Persian and more modern Mohammedan invaders of Hindostan. They were descended from, and were for some time tributary to, the great rajahs of Lahore, of the race of BAL, or PAUL, a name celebrated for valour in the heroic histories of the country: this family is denominated Jeipal by Ferishtah, but Gebal by D'Herbelot, from other historians of the Gaznavide Sultans. By this appellation the latter distinguishes† "*le plus puissant roi de l'Indostan*;" and in another place calls him, "*Bal, fils d'Andbal, estimé le plus riche et le plus puissant roi de* TOUT L'INDOSTAN." I think there can hardly be a doubt, when we consider their great military fame and their place of residence, but that this long, hereditary, and illustrious, race of Bal, or Paul, was the same as that of Porus, so often mentioned by classical writers. I am aware, however,

† Bickermajit flourished in the first century of the Christian æra.
* Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 351.

that

that Bal (whence the word Bal-hara,* or *the greatest lord*, is formed) may be only a title of regal distinction, and was sometimes usurped by the sovereigns of other Soobahs. Twenty princes of this line are particularly said, in the Ayeen Akbery, to have enjoyed in regular succession, for 437 years, the throne of Delhi, not yet imperial. An extensive territory to the north and south of Delhi was subject to the control of its rajah, since we read, in Ferishtah, that the antient and hallowed cities both of Tanasar (the Tanasis of Ptolemy) and Muttra, or Matura, (the Methora of Pliny,) situated only thirty-six miles north of Agra, and still a considerable city, were under his jurisdiction and protection. The last of its native princes, according to the Ayeen Akbery, was Pithowra, from whose family it was conquered by the Mohammedan slave Cuttub, or Cothbedden Ibek, as he is called by D'Herbelot, who made Delhi the capital of the vast empire which he established in Hindostan. The prince from whom it was immediately taken is said by Ferishtah to have been called Candi; and, as whenever I quote this author I always seek for

* BALHARA is derived either from the Persian BALLA, *high*; or the Arabic BAL, *lord*; MAHA, *mighty*; and RAI, or RAJA, *sovereign*. Many Persian words are blended with Sanscreet.

collateral

collateral evidence, in Marco Polo's Indian Travels I find mention made of a rajah of the same name, who is affirmed to have been the chief of the four great kings who then reigned in the peninsula. Candi lost his throne nearly at the expiration of the twelfth century: Marco Polo visited India about the middle of the thirteenth century;* and it is not improbable that the exiled family, though unable to oppose the torrent of Mohammedan success, might still retain sufficient vigour and resources to secure a respectable territory in the southern regions of that extensive country. That the descendants of the race of Bal did retire southward, from the exterminating fury of the Mohammedans, seems to be apparent, from what Mr Chambers, in the Asiatic Researches, has related concerning the extensive and ruinous remains of a vast city near Sadras, on the Coromandel coast, now called Mavalipuram, but which he contends in Sanscreet might have been written Mahabalipur, or the city of the great Bali. The greater part of these ruins has been corroded and washed away by the violent inroad of the sea, on whose border they now stand; but from which it is probable they were in former ages situated at a considerable dis-

* See his Travels in Campbell's edition of Harris, vol. i. p. 621.

tance.

tance. The more antient inhabitants of the place now living remember when a far greater number of pagodas than at present appear raised their heads above the water, which, being covered with copper, and probably gilt, reflected the rays of the rising sun, and diffused a glory over the ocean, that seemed to indicate how wide, and at the same time how magnificent, were the ruins it concealed. A city, also, called Balipatna, stands on the Malabar coast, which may be considered as an additional proof to what is recorded in D'Anville, from Edrisi, of the extensive power and dominion of this very antient race.

While I am upon the subject of these antient monuments of Indian grandeur, so eagerly and so laudably investigated by the gentlemen who compose the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, as containing irrefragable testimony in support and elucidation of many great historical but doubtful points, such as occur in almost every page of the Indian annals, let me not forget to remark, that the same book contains a grant of land, bearing date twenty-three years before the commencement of the Christian æra, of one of the rajahs of this very name, who is styled Deb Paul Deb, equally instructive to the historian and interesting to

the antiquary. Among much other curious and useful information, of which I hope hereafter to avail myself, this Paul is said to have been the son of Dharmo Paul, who married the daughter of a celebrated rajah called Poro Bal; and the union of two such words in the same name, and *that* the name of a rajah of eminence, will, I hope, rescue my former conjecture from any severe animadversions.

Delhi is situated in latitude 28° 37′. If we may believe the Mahabbarat, it stands upon the site of a most antient city, called Inderput, in times justly reputed fabulous the metropolis of the country. The Ayeen Akbery, however, confirms this account, expressly asserting that Delhi is a very antient city, "and was formerly called Inderput." Delhi rose to renown as the glory of Canouge declined. Its consequence as an imperial city increased with that of the Mohammedan dynasty, which bears its name, and it continued to flourish as one of the most splendid cities of Asia, and as the unrivalled metropolis of Hindostan, under all the sultans of the Gaznavide, the Gauride, and Charazmian, dynasties. Each successive monarch adorned this envied city with some signal memorial of royal magnificence; it was surrounded with beautiful gardens and aromatic groves,

and

and was filled with innumerable edifices, erected for the purposes of commerce, appropriated to the diffusion of science or devoted to the sanctities of religion.

At the period of the invasion of Timur Bec, Delhi is said to have arrived at a point of distinction, in regard to its unequalled wealth and extended commerce, which it never after reached. Sherifeddin, the Persian historian of his life, describes that capital* as consisting of three cities, which he denominates Seiri, Gehanpenah, and Old Delhi. Seiri was invested with a strong circular wall;† Old Delhi, or the antient Inderput, had likewise a circular wall, but far more considerable in extent. Géhanpenah occupied the space between the two cities, and was considerably larger than either: the walls by which it was fortified running on each side in parallel lines, and connecting the two former cities. The metropolis, thus formed of three great cities, spread over a very wide extent of ground; and, according to Sherifeddin, had no less than thirty, others say fifty, gates. It was celebrated, he informs us, for a mosque of astonishing dimensions, and for a

* See Sherifeddin's Timur Bec, vol. ii. p. 67.

† In the Ayeen Akbery, Seiri is said to have been built by Sultan Alladeen.

palace

palace of admirable magnificence, which was erected by Malek Jona, an antient king of India, and was ornamented with a thousand marble columns.* The Persian authors are lavish in their praises of this great and beautiful metropolis. The seat of voluptuousness, and the central repository of whatever the vast traffic, carried on by the Indian merchants with Persia, Arabia, and China, produced, it abounded with costly rarities of every kind; the tribute of the most distant climes, the labour of the most skilful artificers. But a savage conqueror now approached, before whom the pride of India and the delight of her sovereigns must bow the head. Through a deluge of human blood, shed in his progress from Samarcand to India, and fresh from the unprovoked massacre of 100,000 captive Hindoos, who were left expiring almost beneath its walls, the merciless Timur pressed on to its destruction. He entered the city, in triumph, on the 4th of January, 1399. The great standard of the Tartarian empire was immediately erected on its

* Mr Finch, one of the first and most respectable visitants of India in the last century, in describing the ruins of Old Delhi, particularises the remains of this august pile, which at that period, (1609,) little more than 200 years after Timur's invasion, was mouldered away to what he calls "a mere carcase, worn out, and disfigured to the last degree." Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 88.

walls;

walls; and the usurper, seated upon the throne of India, in all the pride of conquest, received the prostrate obeisance of the nobility of both nations. The royal elephants and rhinoceros, adorned with rich trappings of gold and silver, were brought to the foot of the throne, and, instructed by their leaders, made the *salaam* of gratulation. Some days were consumed in rewarding with suitable honours the princes and generals of the victorious army, in banquets of unbounded magnificence, and in insulting heaven with the grateful vows of successful tyranny. At length, on some resistance reluctantly made by the inhabitants to the wanton outrages of their conquerors, Delhi, and all the wonders it contained, was given up to be pillaged by an enraged soldiery; and, on the 13th of the same month, "that great and proud city was destroyed." We may form some judgement of the enormous booty obtained in this general pillage, from the account given by the same author of the number of slaves made captive, and of the immense quantities of precious stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, gold and silver vessels, money, and bullion, carried away by the army. Even the Indian women and girls are said to have been adorned with a profusion of precious stones,

and

and had bracelets and rings of gold and jewels, not only on their hands and feet, but also on their toes. Of these precious ornaments every individual had secured so ample a store, that they refused the incumbrance of more, and vast heaps of various plunder of inestimable value were left behind. These are nearly the words of the Persian author, who bears the strictest character in the East for veracity, and who was cotemporary with the monarch whose history he relates.

Under the dynasty of kings that immediately succeeded the invasion of Timur, Delhi soon recovered its pristine splendour and importance as the imperial city of Hindostan. In the course of a few ages that city became again crowded with many majestic monuments of Patan grandeur, in mosques, baths, and caravanseras; and the sepulchres of its deceased monarchs of that line, as well as of many other holy and illustrious men, whose names are enumerated in the Ayeen Akbery, presented to the eye of travellers an awful and striking spectacle.

When Baber, advancing from his imperial city of Cabul, on the north-west frontiers of Hindostan, had over-turned the power of the Patans in the person of Ibrahim, the court

resided

resided alternately at Agra and Delhi. The usurper Shere, who during his short reign erected throughout Hindostan many stately edifices, and, among others, that superb mausoleum in Bahar,* in which he lies interred, pulled down the antient town of Seiri and built a new city on its foundation; which, however, when Abul Fazil, who relates this fact, wrote the Institutes of Akber, was for the most part in ruins. Homaion, on his restoration to that throne, which Shere and his family had so long usurped, laid the foundations of a new and magnificent palace at Delhi, which he did not live to finish; but, meeting his fate shortly after in that city, from the effects of too powerful a dose of opium, was himself buried on the banks of the neighbouring Jumna, where a noble monument was erected over his remains by the great Akber, his son, and successor in the imperial dignity. That most renowned of all the sovereigns of the house of Timur contributed no otherwise to its ornament; but, on the contrary, by fixing his residence for the most part at Agra, and lavishing such immense sums on

* This noble monument of the magnificence of Shere still remains entire. It stands in the centre of a grand artificial lake nearly a mile in length. There has been lately published an elegant engraving of it, from a painting by Mr Hodges.

the structure of its castle, and on the stupendous erections at Secundra in its neighbourhood, completed the ruin which time and neglect had united to spread through the wide circumference and amidst the desolated towers of Delhi.

Notwithstanding the astonishing sums expended by Akber on the palace, or rather the castle, of Agra, (for all the Eastern palaces are built with a view of defence,) the situation, upon a scorched sandy soil and under a more southern sun, was neither esteemed so salubrious by his successors nor so central for the command of the various provinces of the empire, according to its divisions at that period, (for, the southern parts of the peninsula were not yet subjugated,) as was that of Delhi.* The turbulent governors of the north-western provinces bordering upon Persia were perpetually fomenting rebellions; and for their extinction were required the speedy, the effectual, and the concentrated, exertions of the supreme authority. Actuated partly by these motives, and partly by the desire of immortalising his name in the erection of a city that should exceed in

* Terry thinks this city, situated in the *heart* of the empire, was called Delhi, or, as he writes it, Dellee, from a word in the Hindostan language signifying a *heart*. *Dill* is the Indian word for heart. It should be more properly written DEHLY.

grandeur

grandeur all the other cities of Hindostan, Jehaun Shah, the grandson of Akber, in A. D. 1647, according to Fraser, rebuilt Delhi from the ground, and called the new city Jehaunabad, after his own name. He at the same time constructed a palace not less distinguished for its spacious and splendid apartments, calculated for every purpose of state and luxury, than for the extent and beauty of the gardens with which it was adorned, where every odorous plant and beautiful flower of Asia at once feasted the eye with delight and filled the air with fragrance, where fountains of the purest water perpetually flowed, and where vast artificial caverns sheltered the fainting fugitive from the severe fervours of an eastern noon.

To enter into a minute detail of all the curiosities contained in this new city and this extraordinary palace, which was particularly famous for the throne erected by the same prince, in the form of a peacock, with its tail expanded, and entirely composed of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and sapphires, and of all the vast treasures amassed in this capital by that ostentatious monarch, as related by Bernier, Thevenot, and Tavernier, would be to swell these prefatory pages to a magnitude disproportioned to the body of the history itself. Reserving,

therefore, the remaining history of this famed metropolis for those more recent periods to which it properly belongs, I shall conclude this account of its antient grandeur, by observing, in general, that, from the death of Shah Jehaun, till the year 1738, Delhi continued to flourish in increased consequence and splendour as the capital of Hindostan. In that year, so fatal to the towering majesty of the Mogul monarchs in India, a barbarian, more deeply stained with blood than even Timur himself, whose native ferocity of soul was aggravated and inflamed by the stings of insatiable avarice, entered the richest metropolis in the world, once more devoted its hapless inhabitants to unrestrained massacre, and plundered its sumptuous palace of the accumulated wealth of ages. According to Fraser's calculation, the invasion of Nadir cost Hindostan 100 millions of pounds sterling and 200,000 lives. The several conquerors of this ill-fated city seem to have advanced progressively in the scale of horrible enormity. A dæmon of cruelty yet remains to be noticed, whose unprecedented barbarities make humanity shudder, and whose outrages extended to the grave itself. Ahmed Abdollah, who, upon the death of Nadir, had erected into an inde-

pendent

pendent monarchy the provinces bordering upon Persia on the one hand and upon Hindostan on the other, in the year 1756 marched into Delhi, which he gave up for three days to be pillaged by his soldiers, who, in levying their contributions, practised every species of barbarity upon the wretched inhabitants; and, in their eager search for concealed treasures, scrupled not to violate even the sepulchres of the dead. Ahmed is supposed, on his first visit, to have carried away more riches, except in jewels, than Nadir himself; but unsatiated with this grand booty, he returned no less than six different times during the short reign of Allum Geer. His sixth and last visit was in 1759 and 1760, when Delhi was again plundered, and that magnificent city, which for 500 years, with little intermission, had flourished as the capital of Hindostan, and, during the reign of Aurungzeb, was supposed to contain near two million of inhabitants, was totally ruined and almost depopulated.

We come now, in the words of Milton, whose geography was as accurate as his poetry was sublime,

To Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul,

of which celebrated capitals, our account, from the extent of the preceding historical retrospect,

must of necessity be compressed within the narrowest possible limits consistent with the professed design in giving that account.

LAHORE, or rather LAHOOR, is the capital of a large province to the north-west of Delhi, called by the natives Panjab; from PANJ, *five*, and AB, *water*, because watered by the five branches of the Indus. Lahore is marked on the new map as situated in the 31st degree of north latitude, and it stands on the banks of the Rauvee, the antient Hydraotes. It is a city of such great antiquity, that, if it be not in reality the Bucephala of Alexander, as, according to our former remark, has been supposed, it will be extremely difficult to fix for certainty upon its founder; for the Ayeen Akbery is silent on the subject.

Lahore, lying on the direct road that leads into the heart of Hindostan, has ever been harassed, both in antient and modern æras, by the armies of contending princes, and has experienced every vicissitude to which the alternate triumph and defeat of the sovereign can subject a capital. From the time of Alexander to the present day, Panjab has been more deeply stained with blood than any other province of the empire; and the frequent battles that have been fought within its territory have probably contributed

contributed to keep alive that ardour of fortitude, for which its rajahs, and the subjects under their government, have been ever distinguished. They opposed with vigour the progress of the Macedonian invader. The generals of Valid were prevented, principally by the valour of those frontier warriors, from penetrating beyond Multan. It has been asserted, indeed, that the army of Valid, under Mohammed Casim, subjugated a considerable part of Hindostan; and it would appear so from Erpenius's version of Al Makin, where he says, "*Mohammed Indiam occupavit,*" but the contrary is evident, from an historical note which the late very learned editor of the Annals of Abulfeda has added, and which both assigns the cause and records the extent of that invasion.* Jeipal, the rajah of Lahore, during the repeated incursions of Subuctagi and his son Mahmud, exhibited the most horoic proofs of bravery in the defence of his hereditary domain, which extended from Cashmire to Multan; and great indeed must have been the wealth he possessed, since, when, at length, after three desperate efforts, he was taken prisoner by the enemy,

* See Abulfedæ Annales Muslemicæ, Abrabice et Latine, per J. J. Reisk, tom. i. p. 427. Hafniæ, 1789: and Hist. Saracen. Elmacini, edit. Erpen. p. 4. Lugd. Bat. 1625.

around his neck alone were found suspended sixteen strings of jewels, each of which was valued at 180,000 rupees, and the whole at 320,000 pounds sterling. This sum, however, is trifling, compared to that which, Mirkhond says, the sultan of Gazna, in his expedition against Jeipal, or Bal, as he calls him, and in a second against his son Andbal, (Ferishtah's Annindpal,*) carried out of India. He states it at seven millions of coin in gold, seven hundred maunds† of gold in ingots, together with an inestimable quantity of pearls and precious stones. Jeipal, when at length liberated, stung with the anguish arising from his late defeat and captivity, and partly impelled by those feelings, and partly in obedience to a custom then prevalent among the Hindoos, who forbade a rajah, who had been twice vanquished by the Mussulmen, longer to hold the reins of government, resigned the throne to his son. He then ordered a funeral pile to be prepared and kindled, and, leaping into the flames, died as heroically as he had lived.

* Ferishtah, vol. i. p. 41. Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 280.

† The maund is a weight which varies in different parts of India. At Bengal, it is equal to seventy-four pounds and two-thirds; at Surat, to thirty-seven pounds and a half; at Madras, to twenty-five. The maund in Persia is considerably less.

Not to anticipate farther the events more largely and more connectedly recorded in the ensuing history, it will be sufficient to remark, in this place, that Lahore continued to flourish as a great, populous, and wealthy, capital, under many of the succeeding Mohammedan usurpers of India, and in particular under the sultans Cosro, the first and second of that name, and the last of the house of Gazna, who, being driven from their former capital by Mahomed of Gaur, made Lahore the metropolis of their remaining empire. It was for some time the imperial city of Cuttub, who, afterwards extending his conquest eastward, found it necessary to remove the seat of his empire to the more central city of Delhi. Deserted by royalty, Lahore lost not its splendour and importance; these were supported by the vast commerce which about that period it enjoyed above all the cities of Hindostan. The period, however, of its proudest distinction, as a commercial city, seems to have been that in which the traffic, at present carried on by the European settlements upon the coast of India, passed in caravans through the inland provinces of Asia, when Lahore, as well as Cabul, was crowded with merchants from all nations; and her bazars were furnished with the richest commodities,

modities both of the Eastern and European world. To Lahore, as to a general store-house, were brought the costly silks of Persia and the precious gums and drugs of Arabia, to be exchanged for the gems of India and the rich manufactures of China.

To its royal honours and distinction Lahore was restored by Homaion, who, both previously to the usurpation of Shere and during the period of his exile from the throne, made this city his principal residence. He erected in it many stately edifices, and particularly the palace, which was uncommonly lofty, and which, according to Mr Finch, who visited it in 1609, (nearly sixty years before Thevenot, whose description is most generally referred to,) had twelve noble gates; nine opening towards the land-side and three towards the river. The same author affirms, that the city was twenty-four cose in circumference, and, including the suburbs, six cose in length; which, taking the cose at a mile and three-quarters, is not greatly dissimilar from Thevenot's account of its extent in the time of Homaion: for, he states that extent at three leagues, although, at the period of his own visit, it was diminished to one league. What Homaion had thus splendidly begun, Jehaun Geer, who preferred this situation to his

father's

father's sumptuous palace at Agra, completed in the noble style of the designer. The English traveller mentioned above resided here while those works, which were to make Lahore "the finest city of Asia," were advancing to perfection. He mentions the grand fosse at that time casting up round the whole circumference, and the strong wall about to be erected, which later travellers say was of free-stone, flanked with towers and guarded by numerous artillery. Jehaun Geer indeed could, better than the exiled Homaion, afford to perfect magnificent projects; for, at his coming to the throne, he found a treasury, as will appear hereafter from Mandeslo's correct account, so full, or rather so overflowing, with every species of wealth, accumulated during Akber's long reign of fifty years, as to appear inexhaustible. Mr Finch's account of the palace itself is too remarkable and particular to be omitted; and I shall therefore extract it as a specimen of that traveller's agreeable, spirited, and, considering the period when it was penned, I may add, elegant, manner of writing: "As for the rarities of the castle, or palace, they are by far too numerous, as well as too glorious, to be justly represented by a short description; the mahls, the courts, the galleries, the rooms of state, are almost endless;

less; and, to give an idea of the extravagant richness of the furniture of these, it may be sufficient to say, that, in the king's lodgings, the very walls and ceilings were overlaid with plates of gold, and the others are as prodigally rich and sumptuous in proportion. There are a vast number of stately pictures hanging up and down in the galleries and public rooms, all drawn at full length. Here is the whole royal family down from Baber, that made the conquest of India, to this present Mogul. Besides these are all the principal noblemen* of the present government, the Mahometan omrahs and khans, and the native Indian princes that are of any great power or figure about the king. For curiosities without, the king's garden may be reckoned among the chief: here India and Europe seem to lie together on the same spot, which presents the eye with the vegetable varieties of both."† To this account of the fine paintings and rich but decayed furniture that adorned the palace of Lahore, Thevenot, and

* Sir Thomas Roe, who went ambassador to India in 1615, only six years after Mr Finch, relates some curious anecdotes, of which I shall take notice in their proper place, of Jehaun Geer's enthusiastic fondness for the art of painting. See Sir T. Roe's Journal in Churchill's voluminous collection, vol. i. p. 64.

† Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 88.

all the later travellers of the last century, bear ample testimony. M. Bernier, who was at this city in the suite of the emperor Aurungzeb, whom he attended in the capacity of physician, and who dates from this place the third letter in his expedition to Cashmire, speaks of the palace as a high and magnificent structure, but hastening rapidly to ruin, as well as the city itself, from the long absence of the court. Excessive torrents of rain, he observes, had previously fallen, and had greatly contributed towards the demolition of the public buildings and forsaken palaces of the nobility; that still, however, five or six considerable streets remained, of which two or three were above a league in length; but that the Rauvee, which, from its vast rapidity and occasional overflowing, had often caused great devastation, had changed its bed, and, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants, at that time flowed above a quarter of a league from the city. A similar misfortune has befallen many of the antient cities of Hindostan; for we are informed that Gour, once the capital of Bengal, which was in times past watered by the Ganges, stands now at the distance of five miles from the bed of that river; and that some parts of its extensive ruins, formerly washed by its stream,

stream, are at present situated twelve miles* from it. The confluence of the Ganges and the Sone, which in remote periods took place at Patna, now falls at Moneah, twenty-two miles above that city. The Burrampooter has still more considerably varied its course; and the very river, of which the Rauvee is only a branch, is said by Strabo, on the authority of Aristobulus, in the earliest ages of antiquity, to have deviated many leagues from its usual channel, by that means leaving many populous cities destitute of the necessary blessings of its waters, and turning a vast tract of cultivated country into a barren and sandy desert.

AGRA, the AGARA of Ptolemy, though that city is by no means placed on his map in a degree of latitude corresponding with Agra on the modern map, which is marked in 27° 15′, owed its importance, and indeed its existence as a capital, to the munificence of Akber. That emperor, pleased with its situation on the bank of the Jumna, and probably incited by its proximity to his new conquests in the Deccan, from an inconsiderable fortified town, raised Agra to an eminence in splendour, beauty, and renown, which no city in India,

* Major Rennel.

not even Delhi itself, had ever before enjoyed. This monarch had far advanced towards the completion of the proud structures of Fettipore, of which the remaining ruins prove the original grandeur, when on a sudden he relinquished them to execute his more extensive projects at Agra. Indeed, the projects of Akber were all vast and comprehensive, like the mind that formed them. In the important plans for which peace gave leisure, as well as in the more dazzling scenes of martial glory, his genius and his abilities seemed to soar alike superior to the rest of mankind.

Akber, having determined to make Agra an imperial residence, ordered the old wall of earth, with which the city had deen inclosed by the Patan monarchs, to be destroyed, and rebuilt with hewn stone, brought from the quarries of Fettipore. This undertaking, however considerable, was finished with no great difficulty and within no very protracted period. But to rebuild Agra and its castle in a manner worthy of the designer, and calculated to render it the metropolis of the greatest empire in Asia, required the unwearied exertions of one of the greatest monarchs whom Asia had ever beheld. For the full completion of his magnificent plan, Akber, by the promise of ample rewards, collected

lected together, from every quarter of his dominions, the most skilful architects, the most celebrated artists in every branch, both of external ornament and domestic decoration; and some judgement may be formed of the prodigious labour and expense required to perfect the whole undertaking, when the reader is acquainted, that the palace alone took up twelve years in finishing, kept constantly employed, during that period, above a thousand labourers, and cost nearly three millions of rupees. The castle itself, the largest ever erected in India, was built in the form of a crescent along the banks of the Jumna, which becomes at this place, in its progress to the Ganges, a very considerable river; its lofty walls were composed of stones of an enormous size, hard as marble, and of a reddish colour, resembling jasper, which at a distance, in the rays of the sun, gave it a shining and beautiful appearance. It was four miles in extent, and it consisted of three courts, adorned with many stately porticoes, galleries, and turrets, all richly painted and gilded, and some even overlaid with plates of gold. The first court, built round with arches, that gave a perpetual shade, so desirable amidst the heats of a burning climate, was intended for the imperial guard; the second,

for

for the great omrahs and ministers of state, who had their several apartments for the transaction of the public business; and the third court, within which was contained the seraglio, consisted entirely of the stately apartments of the emperor himself, hung round with the richest silks of Persia, and glittering with a profusion of Indian wealth. Behind these were the royal gardens, laid out in the most exquisite taste, and decorated with all that could gratify the eye, regale the ear, or satiate the most luxurious palate; the loveliest shade, the deepest verdure; grottoes of the most refreshing coolness, fruits of the most delicious flavour; cascades that never ceased to murmur, and music that never failed to delight. In the front of the castle, towards the river, a large area was left for the exercise of the royal elephants, and the battles of wild beasts, in which the Indian emperors used to take great delight; and, in a square of vast extent, that separated the palace from the city, a numerous army constantly encamped, whose shining armour and gorgeous ensigns diffused a glory round them and added greatly to the splendour of the scene.

But, if this palace was thus externally grand, what a splendid scene must its interior parts have displayed? Mandeslo, who visited Agra

in 1638, and saw that city in the meridian of its glory, after informing us that the palace was altogether the grandest object he had ever beheld, that it was surrounded with a wall of freestone and a broad ditch, with a draw-bridge at each of its gates, adds,* that, at the farther end of the third court, you saw a row of silver pillars under a piazza, and beyond this court was the presence-chamber; and this more spacious apartment was adorned with a row of golden pillars of a smaller size, and within the balustrade was the royal throne of massy gold, almost incrusted over with diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones; that above this throne was a gallery, where the Mogul appeared every day, at a certain time, to hear and redress the complaints of his subjects; and that no persons whosoever, besides the king's sons, were admitted behind those golden pillars. He mentions, likewise, an apartment in the castle, very remarkable for its tower, which was covered with massy gold, and for the treasure which it contained, having eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which was inestimable. As I have ever esteemed the accounts given us of the internal parts of India, by Bernier and Thevenot, to be far more

* See Mandeslo's Travels, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 118.

accurate

accurate and authentic than those by Tavernier, who travelled thither merely in a mercantile capacity, and possessed neither the leisure nor the opportunity which the others enjoyed to examine objects with attention, so I have in this work more generally followed the relations of the former than the latter of those travellers. On all subjects, however, that relate to commerce, and the splendour and riches of the Eastern courts, which he admired so much, and of which, as a merchant in gold and jewels, he knew so accurately to calculate the value, he undoubtedly deserves the preference of citation. Tavernier, who visited Agra in the decline of its glory near the end of the last century, in the absence of the court at Jehaunabad, obtained permission from the commanding omrah to visit, in company with a Dutch merchant, the inside of that splendid palace; and, among other proofs of its magnificence, makes particular mention of a gallery, the arch of which it was Shah Jehaun's intention to have overlaid with silver, and he had engaged an ingenious Frenchman to undertake the work; but, the artist being soon after poisoned, the design was dropt. He describes the cieling of that gallery as adorned with branched work of gold and azure, and hung below with rich tapestry.

 But

But there was also another most sumptuous gallery, seen by Tavernier, which fronted the river, and which the same monarch had purposed to cover entirely over with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies, that should have represented to the life "grapes when they are green, and when they begin to grow red. But this design, which made such a noise in the world, and required more riches than all the world could afford to perfect, still remains unfinished, there being only three stocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the rest ought to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, wrought in the fashion of grapes."* This splendid idea of Jehaun was not without parallel amidst the magnificence of eastern courts; for, we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a present of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus,† was adorned with Jewels hanging in clusters, in form and colour resembling grapes, and spread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Persia, we find

* Tavernier's Indian Travels, book i. chap. 7.

† See Herodot. lib. vii. and also Athenæus, lib. xii.

in Curtius,* amidst that luxuriant description, in his eighth book, of the state and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined round those ornamented columns of the same metal which supported his palace, amidst whose branches artificial birds of silver, in imitation of those most esteemed in India, were disposed with the nicest art by the curious designer. But to return from the *palace* to the *city* of Agra.

In a line with the palace, along the banks of the same river, were arranged the magnificent palaces of the princes and great rajahs, who vied with each other in adorning the new metropolis; the majestic edifices of which met the delighted eye, intersected with lofty trees, wide canals, and beautiful gardens. Determined to make it the wonder and envy of the East, and to bury both its former name and obscurity in equal oblivion, the sultan gave his own name to the rising capital, and called it Akber-Abad, while he enriched it with the noblest monuments of regal munificence that human ingenuity could plan or human industry could execute. That nothing might be wanting to render it useful for every purpose both of religion and commerce, Akber erected in it many spacious ca-

* Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 9.

ravanseras, sumptuous bazars, and innumerable mosques, some remarkable for the elegance and others for the grandeur of their structure: he likewise invited foreigners from all nations to come and settle there, built them factories, permitted them the free use of their several religions,* and indulged them in many immunities. In particular, knowing the great consequence of the Portuguese at that period in the commercial world, he endeavoured to establish a connection with that enterprising nation, solicited the court of Portugal that missioners might be sent to instruct his subjects in the principles of Christianity, and permitted the Jesuits to erect a church and found a college in his new city, which he endowed with a pension from the royal treasury. By these liberal and politic exertions, Agra, or Akber-Abad, from being a country-town of no great note, soon became the most flourishing city in his dominions, and the thronged resort of Persian, Arabian, and Chinese, merchants, besides those from the European settlements, who flocked in multitudes to its mart.

Agra, during the long reign of Akber and his son Jehaungeer, flourished as the first city for magnificence and commerce in India. Shah Jehaun, by rebuilding Delhi, and by removing

the imperial insignia, the treasures and the jewels accumulated by his ancestors, to his new and splendid palace in that capital, gave the fatal blow to its consequence as an imperial city. Aurungzeb lived in the field of battle, and made it his business rather to extend the bounds, than to beautify and aggrandize the capitals, of his empire. Agra, deserted by its monarchs, languished under the deprivation of the royal smile, and rapidly sunk into decay; at this day, however, it exhibits more magnificent monuments of former splendour than any city of Hindostan; and, when time shall have entirely levelled those monuments with the dust, AGRA shall survive the wreck, and flourish for ever in the historic page of its immortal founder.

CHAP. III.

Of the divisions of Hindostan according to the Hindoos themselves, according to the Persian and Arabian Geographers, and according to the most esteemed Accounts of Europeans.

AFTER having traced the great outlines of the antient geography of India, according to Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny; and having taken a view of the magnificence which distinguished the successive capitals of that antient empire, as well in remote as in more recent periods; it remains for us to pursue the tract originally marked out for the conduct of this introductory Dissertation, and to consider India, or rather Hindostan, according to the divisions of the Orientals themselves and of the best modern geographers.

The most accurate accounts of the divisions and subdivisions of this extensive territory, the history of its most early periods and governing princes, are only to be collected from the writings of the Indians themselves, and of those learned

learned foreigners who have successively resided among them. Although the sacred language, which is the general deposit of their history and theology, has, till very lately, remained an inscrutable mystery, much credit is still due to the Mohammedan literati, for their efforts in various ages to investigate that obscure subject. Mr Fraser's catalogue of Oriental manuscripts, added to his history of Nadir Shah, affords some striking instances of that laudable curiosity; and it is highly to the honour of their Persian and Tartarian conquerors, that such a general spirit of inquiry was encouraged among them by considerable rewards, and that most of the historical and geographical tracts alluded to were written either at the command or by the pen of their monarchs. Many convincing proofs of this assertion might be adduced, but in particular the TARIKH E PADSHAHAN HIND, or History of the Sovereigns of Hind; the VAKEAT BABERI, or Commentaries of Sultan Baber; and the VAKEAT JEHANGEERY; of which the two last were written by those emperors themselves. But their most illustrious exertions, in this respect, is the AYEEN AKBERY, or Mirror of Akber, so often adverted to in these pages, which was compiled at that monarch's express command, and contains an account

account of the several provinces and cities of Hindostan, its civil and religious establishments, and the laws and religious rites of the Brahmins. The principal person employed in carrying on this great and useful work was Abul Fazil, prime vizier of the Mogul, the most elegant historian of his age, whose writings were so much admired throughout the East, and so remarkable for energy and animation, that it was said of them, that the monarchs of Asia were more afraid of the pen of the secretary than of the sword of the sultan, formidable as that sword was. The Ayeen Akbery is, therefore, the rich mine whence most of our future information must be derived. But, before I enter on the modern part of the Indian geography, it is necessary that the word HINDOSTAN itself should be explained. Hindostan, then, is a corruption of the term Hindustan, the domestic appellation of India, compounded of Hindu, and stan, or istan, a region. Thus Persia is called in the Oriental language Fars-istan; Susiana, Chuz-istan; and part of Tartary, Mogul-stan. Mr Dow has upon this word started a singular, and, as it turns out, an unfounded, assertion. Indoo, or Hindoo, he says, in Sanscreet, signifies the moon, and that from this luminary and the sun the Indian rajahs are fond

of

of deducing their descent: he therefore contends, in opposition both to antient and modern geographers, that the great river Indus takes its name from the people and not the people from the river. Mr Halhed, however, on the contrary, asserts that Hindostan is a word entirely of Persian origin, equally unknown to the antient and modern Sanscreet; that the terms universally used for Hindostan, in the Sanscreet language, are BHERTEKHŬND, a word derived from BHERRUT, one of the first Indian rajahs, whose name was adopted for that of the kingdom, and KHUND, a continent, or wide tract of land, and JUMBOODEEP, compounded of JUMBOO, a jackal, an animal remarkably abounding in this country, and DEEP, any large portion of land surrounded by water; and that it is only since the æra of the Tartar government that they have assumed the name of Hindoo,* to distinguish them from their conquerors, the Mussulmen.† The word Gentoo, he adds, is an appellation equally unknown and inapplicable to the natives, either as a tribe of Brahma or collectively as a nation, being de-

* See Mr Halhed's Preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 22, quarto; and Dow, vol. i. p. 32.

† Mr Wilkins likewise affirms, that the terms Hindoo and Hindostan are not to be found in the Sanscreet Dictionary.

rived

rived from Gent, or Gentoo, which signifies animal in general; and, in its more confined sense, mankind. Possibly the Portuguese, on their first arrival in India, hearing the word frequently in their mouths, as applied to mankind in general, might adopt it for the domestic appellation of the Indians themselves: perhaps also their bigotry might force from the word Gentoo a fanciful allusion to Gentile, or pagan. Mr Halhed, on the subject of the Sanscreet language, never stands in need of collateral evidence to support his assertions; otherwise Sir W. Jones's additional authority* might here be cited, who says the natives call Hindostan, Bharata, from "Bharat, one of two brothers, whose father had the dominion of the whole earth," and suppose this domain of Bharat to be in the centre of the Jumboodeep, or JUMBUDWEEPA, as he writes it; deriving the word from Jambu, a delicate kind of Indian fruit, called by the Europeans rose-apple. Hence arises the vain appellation of MEDYAMA, or central, by which they likewise distinguish their happy country.

HINDOSTAN, — formerly the empire of the Great Mogul; for, it would be insulting departed majesty to retain that mode of expression

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i p. 412.

at

at this day, when it is a fact notorious to all Asia that the city of Delhi, and a small territory round it, constitute in India the whole of the present dominion of the house of Timur;—HINDOSTAN is bounded on the north by the mountains of Tartary and Tibet: on the west it is separated from Persia and the Uzbek Tartary by deserts, and by those mountains which were known to the antients under the name of Paropamisus; on the south, it is confined by the countries of Deccan, the peninsula not being properly a part of it; and, on the east, the kingdoms of Tipra, Assam, and Arracan, situated on the peninsula beyond the Ganges.

It will be observed, in drawing these lines of limitation, that neither the Ganges nor Indus are mentioned, as in the antient geography, the former as the eastern, nor the latter as the western, termination of this country; for, such a mode of division would deprive Hindostan of many extensive and valuable tracts that lie on the western banks of the Indus and along the eastern borders of the Ganges. Ptolomy, who makes Arachosia, Gedrosia, together with the Paropamisadæ, and not the Indus, the western boundary of India, if he had been apprised of the course of the Burrampooter, would doubtless have fixed upon that stream, and not upon

upon the Ganges, for its eastern limit. In our own ignorance of the geography of India, till of very late years, we may find many apologies for the defective accounts of the antient writers on that subject; and, instead of harshly censuring their venial errors, we ought rather to contemplate their laborious investigations in that infant state of the science with reverence and with admiration. Sir William Jones makes the large province of Sind to comprehend both Mocran, the antient Gedrosia, and Multan, which, he observes, have been considered as provinces of Persia; while, on the other hand, we know that both Cabul and Zablestan, in the prosperous state of the Indian empire, were generally considered as forming a part of that empire, and were often governed by the viceroys of the Mogul. In fact, the title to possession of those frontier provinces fluctuated with the vicissitudes of both empires; a circumstance which will account for the variations of modern geographers: and, with respect to the apparent inaccuracies of the antients, the following pertinent remark of the last-mentioned author will serve at once as a vindication and as an elucidation of their writings: "It is usual with the Asiatics to give the same name to the countries which lie on both sides of any considerable

river:

river: thus, the province of Sind is divided by the Indus, Charazm by the Oxus, Palestine by the Jordan, Egypt by the Nile, and the eastern region of India by the Ganges." The Peninsula of India, understood in its greatest extent, is that tract of country situated to the south of a line drawn nearly from Baroach, on the western, to Balasore, on the eastern, shore, and is sometimes denominated the Deccan, although in its proper and limited sense that title can only be given to certain distinct provinces of the peninsula. It is bounded on the north by that imaginary line, and on the three other sides it is embraced by the ocean.

In the account given above of the modern divisions of Hindostan, I have taken Mr Orme and Mr Rennel for my principal guides; the former, an historian of equal elegance and authenticity, the latter, without a rival, since the death of D'Anville, in the path of Indian geography. Sir William Jones and the Ayeen Akbery will be our certain conducters through the remainder of this treatise, which, if it should appear extended to too great a length, I hope that the candour of the reader will be exerted in my favour, when he reflects that I am attempting to convey ideas of the geography of an empire of which several provinces are or

have

have been so many potent kingdoms; an empire which the antients considered as the third part of the habitable earth, and which, in fact, constitutes no inconsiderable portion of the vast continent of Asia. To the barren subject of its geography, however, I have not wholly confined my observations, and much less to minute and uninteresting particulars: but have endeavoured to display its most prominent features, and to exhibit a general prospect of the extent and splendour of its antient and celebrated capitals. For, Oriental words are not easily accommodated to an European ear; and many readers are apt to be displeased with the frequent return of harsh and uncouth names of rivers, cities, and provinces, the very sound of which creates disgust. To this consideration I shall ever pay a proper attention, but trust I shall never sacrifice correctness to a fear of disgusting, nor per-spicuity to a vain polish of language.

In a future chapter, concerning the lite ture of the Hindoos, their strange eccentric conceptions relative to the geography of the globe, as well as of their own country, will come under our more particular review. It will, therefore, be sufficient in this place to remark, that the natives themselves suppose Jumboodeep to be one of the seven DEEPS, or islands, surrounded

rounded by as many oceans, that compose the terrestial globe. Jumboodeep has nine grand divisions, which are enumerated in the Ayeen Akbery* and illustrated in a curious geographical map. In the centre of this deep, they say, stands a golden mountain of a cylindrical form, which descends as far beneath as it rises above the surface of the earth. The summit of this mountain, whose altitude is 84,000 yojans, but, according to others, only 16,000 yojans, they denominate Sommier; and on that summit, and on its sides, they believe are the different degrees of paradise. In a direct line from the lofty golden mountain of Sommier, at the extremity of the four quarters of the earth, their romantic imaginations have placed four cities, encompassed with walls built of bricks of gold, viz. Jumkote, Lanka, Siddahpore, and ..omuck. Our present business is with that .ivision only which extends from Lanka,† in e south, to the northern range of mountains

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 23, and Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 45, quarto edit.

† "Lanka is not the island of Ceyloan, as is generally supposed, but a place determined by the intersection of the equator and the meridian of Delhi, which answers to the southern extremity of the Maldivy islands." See Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 36 in the notes.

passing between it and Sommier, which in the language of the country are called Heemachel, Heemakote, and Nekh, and of which, in Mr Burrow's opinion, the first are the RHYMMICIS mountains of Ptolemy; the second the IMAUS and the EMODI mountains; and the third is the DEENIS of Ptolemy. This tract is Mr Halhed's Bhertekhund, or, as I shall hereafter, according to Sir W. Jones's and Mr Rennel's orthography, take the liberty of writing the word, BHARATA.

BHARATA, the first division of Jumboodeep, is said in the Asiatic Researches (page 419) to have for its northern boundary the mountains of Himalaya, that is, I presume, of Heemachel before-mentioned, taken in an extended sense; but in either appellative the classic term of IMAUS may be plainly traced. The mountains of Vindhya, called also Vindian by the Greeks, and the Sindhu, or Indus, according to the Indian geographers, form its limits on the west. The great river Saravatya, or river of Ava, washes Bharata on the south-east; and on the south it is bounded on the ocean and by the great island of Sinhala, or *lion-like men*. Between Lanka and Heemachel, the Hindoos place seven ranges of mountains, extending from east to west; but the reader will readily

excuse

excuse the insertion of their names, as well as those of the subdivisions of Jumboodeep, which, being unaccompanied with descriptive accounts, could only exhibit a tedious catalogue of names that would afford little pleasure to the eye, little music to the ear, and less improvement to his understanding.

The Persian and Arabian geographers divide the great Indian empire into two parts, which they call HIND and SIND. "By the country of Hind, in its strictest sense, they mean the districts on both sides of the Ganges, and by Sind the country that lies on each side of the Sindab, especially where it discharges itself into the ocean. Sind, including Mocran and Multan, is bounded on the south by the Indian sea, which embraces it in the form of a bow: it has Hind on the east, and on the west Kerman, with part of Sejestan, which also bounds it on the north; but if, with some geographers, we make it comprise even Zablestan and Cabul, its northern limits will extend as far as Cashmire, that delightful and extraordinary valley, celebrated over all Asia for the singular beauty of its inhabitants, the serenity of its air, and the abundance of its delicious fruits; if, again, we include Cashmire also in this division of India, it will reach as far northward as Tibet or Tobat,

the country of the finest musk, which has China on the east and Oriental Tartary on the west and north."* Texeira† says, the natives inhabiting the banks of the Sind are called, from its water, AB-IND; and that the Persians and Arabians denominate the tract which it washes in the lower part of its course the kingdom of Diul.

HIND, according to Sir W. Jones, is divided into three parts; GUZZURAT, including most of the southern provinces, and among them the city and territory of Sumnat, the despoiling of whose august and venerable pagoda, filled with treasures equally sacred and inestimable, by the desolating tyrant Mahmud, in the eleventh century, will hereafter excite in us the strongest emotions of indignation and horror. MALABAR, or the country of the Malais, which includes what the Arabians call Beladelfulful, or *the land of pepper*, and is terminated on the south by the Cape of Comron, famous for producing the best aloe-wood, a favourite perfume of the Asiatics: to the south-west of this promontory are the numerous islands, which we call Maldives, and the Arabians Rabihat, and a little to the south-east lies

* Jones's Short Description of Asia, p. 8.

† Texeira's Hist. of Persia, p. 90.

the famous Serandib, or Seilán, which produces so many precious perfumes, jewels, and spices. Texeira writes the name of this great island Selandive,* that is, the island of Seilan, observing that Dive in the language of the country signifies *an island*, as the Male-dive, or islands of Male; Ange-dive, the five islands; while the great commercial town of Diu is called, by way of eminence, Dive, or Div, THE ISLAND. The Sanscreet name of Seilán, according to a curious note and remark which I observe added to page 36 of the 3d vol. of the Ayeen Akbery, is TAPOBON, a word resembling Taprobane, and implying *the wilderness of prayer*. From what was before remarked, in the antient geography concerning the Malli, and the mountainous country of Mallcam, in this neighbourhood, we may, I think, without any great violence to eastern language, trace to them the name of this district. BAR, as an adjunct, Mr Richardson observes,† denotes A COUNTRY, and instances Tranquebar and Malabar: BAR also signifies *elevated:* in either sense the word is applicable. I have explained the word Malabar, but had omitted before to mention the derivation of

* Texeira, p. 94.

† Mr Richardson's Dissertation, p. 12.

 Coromandel,

Coromandel, which Mr Rennel derives from Soramandelum, corruptly called Coromandel. The Soræ were a nation inhabiting that coast, who are mentioned by Ptolemy; and their capital of Arcoti, though strangely thrust out of its proper place in his map, is the Arcot of the moderns.

The third division of Hind is called MABER, or *the passage*, by the Arabians, and extends from the Gulph of Bengal, on both sides of the Ganges, as far northward as the Straits of Kupele. The Straits of Kupele, through which the Ganges discharges the volume of its waters, form a part of the chain of the Sewalic mountains that rise immediately north of the level plain of Hindostan; while far above them, considerably more northward, soar the snowy precipices of Caucasus. Caucasus, in the language of Oriental poetry, is the tremendous Kaf, or Caph, which Mr Richardson* translates rock, or promontory, and which in the romances of the east is supposed to form a part of that fabulous mountain, which like a vast ring surrounds the earth; where the monster Simorg,† a

* Mr Richardson, p. 170.

† "The man, who is unacquainted with the fairies, dragons, and enchanters, so frequently introduced in the poems of Firdusi, who knows nothing of the griffin Simorg, the speaking horse of Rustam,

a griffin of immeasureable magnitude, has for unknown ages fixed her abode, and where the shadowy beings of Persian mythology, dives, dragons, and dæmons of every denomination, perpetually wage their horrible conflicts.

I shall now proceed to give the substance of what we find in the Ayeen Akbery* relative to the greater and smaller geographical divisions of Hindostan, as fixed by the emperor Akber, in the fortieth year of his reign, that is about the year 1595 of the Christian æra; a book which, Mr Rennel observes,† forms to this day an authentic register of these and all other matters relative to that empire.

Hindostan was then parcelled out into twelve grand divisions, called soobahs, to each of which a viceroy was assigned, by the title of Soobahdar, corruptly written Soobah by European writers; for, soobah signifies province: many of these soobahs were in extent equal to

Rostam, the dark sea which surrounds the world, the mountain of Kaf, or the battle of the twelve heroes, can no more pretend to read the finest writings of Persia, than he could understand the Odes of Pindar, if he had never heard of the Trojan war, the groves of Elysium, the voyage of the Argonauts, or the several attributes of the heathen deities." Preface to Nadir Shah, by Sir William Jones.

Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 3.

† Memoir, p. 3, first edit.

large European kingdoms. The soobahs were again divided into circars, which Mr Rennel would call counties; and these were subdivided into purgunnahs, which he would call hundreds. The names of the twelve soobahs were, Allahabad, Agra, Owdh, Ajmere, Ahmed-Abad, Bahar, Bengal, Dehly, Cabul, Lahoor, Multan, and Malwa. When Akber conquered Berar, Khandess, and Ahmednagur, they were formed into three soobahs, increasing the number to fifteen. It is remarked, in a note of the Memoir, that Akber might have probably changed the boundaries of the old soobahs, by adding or taking away certain circars, for the purpose of rendering each province more compact and the provincial capital more centrical to the several parts of it. Guzzurat is not mentioned, as the reader must notice, in the above quotation; although Ahmed-Abad, its capital, is, which may probably be used for the province itself, although in another note to the same publication we are told, that Guzzurat is by some of the Hindoos considered as lying without the limits of Hindostan; and we are referred for a proof of this remark to the letters of Berar Rajah; Abul Fazil expresses his hope, as he shall commence his description from the soobah of Bengal, the most southern extremity

of

of Hindostan, and carry it to Zabulistan, that, while he is writing, not only Turan and Iran, but also other countries, may be added to the account.

BENGAL.

" Bengal (including Orissa) has the sea on the east, is bounded by mountains on the north and south, and on the west joins to the soobah of Bahar. It is situated in the second climate.* From Chittagong to Kurhee are four hundred cose difference of longitude; and from the northern range of mountains to the southern extremity of Sircar Maddura are comprehended two hundred cose of latitude." We shall be sufficiently exact, Mr Gladwin observes, if we take the Indian cose, which varies in the several provinces, at the general average of two English miles. When Orissa was added to Bengal, the additional length was computed to be forty-three cose, and the breadth twenty cose.

Without following the Ayeen Akbery through all the minuter divisions of each soobah, I shall notice what is there remarked concerning

* The antient geographers divided the globe into seven climates only.

its

its principal city, climate, productions, force, commerce, and revenue. The history of their several sovereigns, when separate kingdoms, will be given hereafter.

"The air of Bengal is comparatively temperate. The periodical rains commence in April, and continue for somewhat more than six months during this season; the low-lands are sometimes entirely overflowed." We are informed, in a note, that the frequent storms of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, from the north-west, which precede the setting in of the periodical rains, contribute very much to moderate the heat; that those rains more generally commence in the beginning of June; and that, if they break up early in September, the weather is intensely hot and the inhabitants are very sickly.

"This soobah abounds with rivers, the finest of which is the Gung, or Ganges, whose source has never been traced. The Hindoo priests say that it flows from the hair of Mahadeo." The real source and progress to the ocean, both of the Ganges and Burrampooter, as discovered by the moderns, will hereafter merit our more particular consideration. "The learned among the Hindoos have composed volumes in praise of the Ganges, all parts of which are said to be

be holy; but some particular places are esteemed more so than others. The great people have the water of this river brought to them from vast distances, it being esteemed necessary in the performance of certain religious ceremonies. The water of the Ganges has been celebrated in all ages, not only for its sanctity, but also on account of its sweetness, lightness, and salubrity, and because it does not become putrid, though kept for years. There is another very large river called Burrampooter, which runs from Khatai to Coach, and thence through Bazoolah to the sea. The Sea of Bengal, which is a bay of the ocean, goes on one side to Bassorah, on the other to Kulzum of Egypt, and thence to Persia, where by the natives it is called the Sea of Omman and the Sea of Persia."

"Most of the rivers of Bengal have their banks cultivated with rice, of which there is a variety of species. The soil is so fertile in some places, that a single grain of rice will yield a measure of two or three seer.* Some lands will produce three crops in a year. Vegetation is here so extremely quick, that, as fast as the water rises, the plants of rice grow above

* The seer is a measure equal to two pounds avoirdupois.

it,

it, so that the ear is never immersed. Men of experience affirm, that a single stalk will grow six cubits in one night. The subjects pay their annual rents in eight months, by instalments, themselves bringing mohurs and rupees to the places appointed for the receipt of the revenues, it not being customary in this soobah for the husbandmen and the government to divide the crops. The food of the inhabitants is for the most part fish and rice. Their houses are chiefly made of bamboos, some of them very expensive and very durable. They travel chiefly by water, especially in the rainy season, and they construct boats for war, burthen, and travelling. For their journeys by land, they make use of a machine called a Sookhasens, supported upon the shoulders of men by a pole, formed of a number of straight pieces of wood joined together by iron rings. The sides of the machines are ornamented with different metals, and over the top is thrown an arched covering, made of woollen cloth, for defence against the sun and rain. In these machines you sit or lie down and sleep as conveniently as in a room or house. Some also ride upon elephants. Horses are very scarce. In some parts of this soobah are manufactured hempen carpets, so beautiful that they seem to be made of silk. The

inhabitants

inhabitants of Bengal are exceedingly fond of salt, which is scarce in some parts of the soobah. Diamonds, emeralds, pearls, agates, and cornelians, are brought from other countries to the sea-ports of Bengal. Their flowers and fruits are fine and in plenty. The beetle-nut stains the lips of those who eat it quite red."

Among the principal cities of Bengal are particularly noted Jennut-Abad, a very antient city, formerly called Lucknowti and sometimes Gowr. It has a fine fort, to the eastward of which is a large lake. If the dams break during the heavy periodical rains, the city is laid under water.—Mahmoodabad, whose fort is surrounded by a marsh. When Shire Khan conquered this country, some of the rajah's elephants fled into the wilds, where they have increased in great numbers. This circar produces long pepper.—Chittagong, a large city, situated among trees upon the banks of the sea, and a great emporium, being the resort of Christian and other merchants. There are two other emporiums a mile distant from each other, one called Satgong and the other Hougly, with its dependencies; both of which are in the possession of the Europeans. Satgong is famous for pomegranates. The soobah of Bengal now

includes

includes the five circars of ORISSA, which was once an independent country.

ORISSA.

" ORISSA contains one hundred and twenty-nine brick forts. The periodical rains continue here eight months. They have three months of winter, and only one month that is very hot. Rice is cultivated in great abundance. The inhabitants live upon rice, fish, and vegetables. After boiling the rice, they steep it in cold water, and eat it the second day. The men are very effeminate, being exceedingly fond of ornaments, and of anointing their bodies with sandal-wood oil. The women cover only the lower parts of the body, and many make themselves dresses of the leaves of trees. Contrary to the general practice of the Hindoo women, they may marry two or three times. Here are many idolatrous temples, built of stone, and of a vast hight. Paper and ink are seldom used in this province; for the most part they write with an iron style upon the leaf of the taar-tree, and they hold the pen with the fist clenched. Here are manufactures of cloth. The fruits and flowers of Orissa are very fine and in great plenty. The nusreen is a flower deli-

cately

cately formed and of an exquisite smell; the outer side of the leaf is white and the inner of a yellow colour. The keurah grows here quite common, and they have great variety of the beetle-leaf. They reckon all their accounts in cowris,* which is a small white shell, with an aperture in the middle, and they are found on the sea-shore."

Cuttek, or Cattack, is mentioned in the Ayeen Akbery as the capital of Orissa, containing a fort with many magnificent buildings, which, when Akber reigned, was the residence of the governors of the province. That book describes the surrounding country as lying very low, and in the rainy season as entirely covered with water. The description of the famous palace of Cattack merits attention, as it marks the different apartments, both for state and convenience, into which the mansion of an Indian rajah of that period was divided.

" The palace of Cattack consists of nine distinct buildings. The first is for the elephants, camels, and horses. The second is for the artillery and military stores, where are also quar-

* Eighty cowris are called a pun, and from fifty to sixty puns amount in value to a rupee. The great cheapness of provision makes it convenient to have so very low a medium for dealings among the poor.

ters for the guards and other attendants. The third is occupied by the porters and watchmen. The fourth is appropriated for the several artificers. The kitchens make the fifth range. The sixth contains the rajah's public apartments. The seventh is for the transaction of private business. The eighth is where the women reside. And the ninth consists of the rajah's sleeping apartments. To the south of this palace is a very antient Hindoo temple."

In the town of Pursorem, on the banks of the sea, the temple of Jaggernaut is particularised, concerning the origin of whose erection and worship in Hindostan the following circumstances are related. At the desire of an antient rajah of the province, a learned Brahmin was sent to fix upon the spot most proper for the foundation of a city. Arriving at this spot, and inclining to fix upon this situation as by far the most eligible of any he had yet seen, but still not entirely determined, he observed a crow plunge into the water, and, after washing its body, pay its obeisance to the ocean. The Brahmin, who is affirmed to have understood the language of birds, inquired of the crow the meaning of this strange procedure: the bird answered, That he had formerly been of the tribe of Dewtah, but from the curse of

a religious man was transformed into that shape; that the spot whereon he stood was highly favoured by the Creator of the universe; and that whoever worshipped him on that spot should not fail to prosper. Animated by this intelligence, as well as by succeeding revelations of the divine will, the rajah built a large city and a place of worship on the spot where the crow had appeared. Not long after, the same rajah was directed by a vision to cast his eyes upon a certain day on the sea-shore, when there would arise out of the water a piece of wood fifty-two inches long and one cubit and a half broad; that this was the true form of the Deity: that he must keep the invaluable treasure seven days in his house, and afterwards set it up in the temple as an object of adoration. The vision was verified by the appearance, at the appointed time, of the wooden divinity, which the rajah called Jaggernaut, and afterwards ornamenting it with gold and precious stones, deposited it in the temple, where it became the object of worship of all ranks of people, and is reported to have performed many miracles. The Brahmins wash the images of Jaggernaut six times every day; and the quantity of victuals daily dressed for these idols is so very great as to feed twenty thousand persons. They

also at certain times carry the image in procession upon a carriage of sixteen weels, which, in the Hindoo language, is called Rubth; and they believe that whoever assists in drawing it along obtains remission of all his sins.

As the pagoda of Jaggernaut is the most celebrated and frequented in India, I thought the foregoing account of its origin, from so authentic a register of provincial antiquities as the Ayeen Akbery, would not be unwelcome to the reader. He will find, in Mr Hamilton's* account of this coast, an engraving of this temple, which is an immense circular structure, about fifty yards high, with the image of *an ox*, larger than the life, cut out of one entire stone, and projecting from the centre of the building. The fore part of the animal is alone visible; the hinder parts are fixed in the wall. He has likewise an engraving of the coach, four stories in hight, in which the idol is carried about in procession, and under whose wheels he reports that the infatuated devotees often throw themselves in a transport of holy fury. He describes the idol as an irregular pyramidal black

* See Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 385, London edit. 1744. I have been told that Mr H.'s homely similitude of Jaggernaut's temple to a vast butt set on end is not unsuitable.

stone,

stone, and the temple itself as destitute of any light except what it receives from one hundred lamps constantly burning before him. Tavernier, who was at this place about thirty years before Hamilton, informs us that this idol was adorned with a mantle of gold tissue, had two large diamonds in the place of eyes, and another pendant from his neck, with bracelets of pearls and rubies for his arms; and that the great revenues of Jaggernaut arose from the liberal donations which were daily poured into its treasury by innumerable pilgrims of every description.

The soobah of Bengal is said to consist of twenty-four circars and seven hundred and eighty-seven mahls. The revenue is fifty-nine crore, eighty-four lacks, fifty-nine thousand three hundred and nineteen daums; and Fraser* allows three hundred and twenty daums to a pound sterling. The forces maintained by the zedmeendars amount to 23,350 cavalry, 801,158 infantry, 170 elephants, 4,260 cannon, and 4,400 boats.

BAHAR.

" Bahar is situated in the second climate. The length from Gurhee to Rhotas is 120 cose,

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 33.

and the breadth from Tirhoot to the northern mountains includes 110 cose. It is bounded on the east by Bengal, by Allahabad and Oud on the west, and on the north and south by large mountains."

The principal rivers of this soobah are the Ganges and the Sown. The Sown, the Nerbuddah, and the Chelum, all three spring from one source near Kurrah. The water of the Sown is cool, pleasant to the taste, and wholesome; having run to the south as far as Muneyr, it then unites with the Ganges. The river Gunduck comes from the north and empties itself into the Ganges near Hajeepoor. The summer months here are very hot, but the winter is very temperate. The rains continue six months. The country is continually covered with verdure, and the soil is so hard, that, during the stormy winds which blow here, you are not much incommoded with the dust. Agriculture is in the highest perfection, the rice being so excellent, and of such a variety of species, as are no where to be equalled. Sugar-cane is cultivated in great abundance and in high perfection. Mughee is that species of the beetle-leaf which is most esteemed; it is of a very thin and delicate texture, of a fragrant smell, with a beautiful colour, and the flavour

is

is delicious. It is not customary in Bahar to divide the crops. The husbandman brings the rents himself, and, when he makes his first payment, an antient custom obliges him to come dressed in his best attire.

Most of the houses in this province are described as roofed with tiles, and the inhabitants are reported to be famous for building boats and for the manufacture of gilded glass: they have good elephants in plenty, but horses and camels are scarce. Bahar is famous for parrots, goats, fighting cocks, "remarkable for affording great sport," and great variety of hawks.

In sircar Mungheer a stone wall is mentioned as extending from the Ganges to the mountains, and forming the boundary between Bengal and Bahar. In sircar Bahap is Gaya, famous as a place of Hindoo worship, and called, from Brahma, Birm-Gaya. Tirhoot, which Sir W. Jones mentions, on the authority of some information received in India, as the supposed residence of a colony of priests from Egypt, is asserted to have been from old time the residence of Hindoo learning; and this assertion renders that circumstance highly probable. The water and air of Tirhoot are much celebrated; and it has delightful groves of orange-trees, extending thirty cose, not ill calculated to pro-

mote the purposes of science and encourage meditation. The last remarkable place mentioned in Bahar is the strong fortress of Rhotas, situated upon a lofty mountain of most difficult access and fourteen cose in circumference. The inclosed land is cultivated; and within this space are many springs: water may be procured in any part by digging three or four ells below the surface of the earth. There are several lakes within the forts. During the rains there are not less than ten delightful cataracts.

The soobah of Bahar contains seven circars, subdivided into 199 pergunnahs. The gross amount of its revenue is stated at 54,47,985,13 sicca-rupees: it furnishes 11,415 cavalry, 449,350 infantry.

The whole soobah of Bengal, the greatest part of Bahar, and the districts of Midnapore in Orissa, are in the possession of the British nation, or rather of their representative in that quarter, the British East-India Company. Those parts of Bahar and Orissa which are not in the possession of the English, constituting, in regard to Bahar, a very small, but in regard to Orissa, a very considerable, proportion of those respective soobahs, are in the hands of the Mahrattas.

ALLAHABAD.

ALLAHABAD.

This soobah is represented as situated in the second climate. In length it is 160 cose, in breadth 122 cose. To the east it has Bahar, to the north Oud, Bundhoo lies on the south, and Agra on the west. Its principal rivers are the Ganges and the Jown, or Jumna. It produces variety of fruits, flowers, and excellent plants; has abundance of melons and grapes, and is well stocked with game. Agriculture is in great perfection; and the inhabitants fabricate some beautiful species of cloths, and have a manufacture of woollen carpets. Allahabad, the former name of which was Piyaug, is the capital citv of this soobah. Akber gave it the former name, and built a stone fort, in which are many magnificent edifices. Benares is specified by the name of Baranassey, as a large city situated between two rivers, the Birnah and the Assey, whence probably its former appellation is derived; but its most antient name was Kassy. It is built in the form of a bow, of which the river Ganges resembles the bowstring. Its temple was formerly as celebrated in Hindostan and as much resorted to as Mecca is by the Mohammedans. It is the antient seat

of Hindoo learning as well as religion. Jownpoor is the next city in magnitude, and Chunar is described as a stone fort of incomparable strength, situated upon a lofty hill, at whose foot flows the Ganges. Callinger is a fortress still stronger and more celebrated. Within the compass of its walls are many springs and lakes and many temples devoted to idolatry. Ebony and a variety of wild fruits are found here; in its neighbourhood there is a diamond-mine; and twenty cose from the fort small diamonds are sometimes found. Jeipal's burning himself, and the cause of it, have been already mentioned: another instance of a rajah's devoting himself to the same mode of destruction occurs in the account of Callinger, with this difference, that the former put an end to his existence, because his reputation was lost, the latter from the fear of losing it. The greatest part of Allahabad is in possession of the nabob vizier: the remainder is under the control of the English. Allahabad contains ten sircars, divided into 177 purgunnahs. Its revenue is stated at 53,10,695—7—9 sicca-rupees. It furnishes 11,375 cavalry, 237,870 infantry, and 323 elephants.

OUD

Oud has Bahar on the east, on the north it is bounded by mountains, by Manickpoor on the south, and on the west by Kinoge. Its length is stated at 135 cose, and its breadth at 115 cose. The Gogra, the Gounty, and the Sy, are its largest rivers. The water and air are good, and the seasons are temperate. Agriculture in this soobah is in high perfection. Some particular kinds of rice growing here are represented as "incomparable for whiteness, delicacy, odour, and digestiveness." The crops are sown three months earlier than in any other part of Hindostan, and the stalks are said to rise as fast as the inundating water. "Here are great variety of fruits and flowers. Of game there are many kinds, and plenty of wild buffaloes. When the plains are overflowed, the wild animals resort to the high lands, and the hunting of them affords great diversion. Some animals remain all day in the water, just keeping their noses above the surface to breathe, and come on-shore only at night.

The incredible magnitude of the city of Oud in antient times has been mentioned before.

fore. It is esteemed one of the most sacred places of antiquity. At the distance of a cose from the city, the Gogra and Sy unite their streams, and the confluent river runs at the foot of the fort. From the northern mountains are imported a number of curious articles of commerce: among these are specified musk, cow-tails, chook, (an acid mixture of lime and lemon juice boiled to a consistence,) tincar, civet, zedoare, redwood, asafœtida, and amber. In return, the traders in these articles carry back earthen ware. Lucknow is a large city, pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Gounty, and the suburbs are also very delightful. In Abul Fazil's account of this soobah are recorded many instances of the absurd superstitious credulity both of the Mohammedans and the Hindoos. According to the former, it contains the hallowed tombs of Seth and Job, of which wonderful stories are related. According to the latter, it has a reservoir of water, bubbling up with such violence, that a man cannot force his way down into it; sands that sometimes assume the form of Mahadeo; and fields that, during a particular festivity, vomit forth flames. Biratch is a large city, delightfully situated amongst a number of gardens upon the banks of the river Sy. The town of Belgram is celebrated

for

for producing men "with lively imaginations and melodious voices," and for a well, whose efficacious water improves the understanding, while it amends the sight.

The rich, extensive, and flourishing, soobah of Oud, and the greatest part of Allahabad, are at this day in the possession of Azuph Dowlah, son of the late Sujah Dowlah, vizier of the empire, and a tributary ally of the British power in India.

Oud has five circars, divided into 138 pergunnahs. Its total amount of revenue is stated at 50,43,454—4 sicca-rupees; its force at 7,660 cavalry, 168,250 infantry, and 59 elephants.

AGRA.

"Agra is situated in the second climate. This soobah is bounded on the east by Ghatempoor, on the north by the river Ganges, on the south lies Chundery, and Pulwuh confines it on the west." Its greatest length is 175 cose; its extreme breadth is from Canouge to Chundery; but the number of cose forming that breadth is not specified. The principal rivers are the Jumna, rising in the northern mountains, and the Chumbul, deriving its

source

source from Hasselpoor in Malwu. The union of the two rivers takes place at Culpee.

"A great many situations in the southern mountainous parts of this soobah are remarkably pleasant and healthy. Agriculture is here in perfection. They have abundance of flowers and sweet-scented oils, very excellent beetle-leaf, and grapes and melons as fine as those produced in Iran and Turan." What is related concerning the capital of Agra has been noticed before. The second place of consequence mentioned i Futtehpore, containing a strong fort, with many magnificent buildings, a palace, a mosque, and a monastery, erected by Akber. Over one of its gates are placed two astonishing elephants, carved in stone. Futtehpore is celebrated for a quarry of red stone, from which the materials for erecting its own stupendous, but now ruined, structures, as well as the splendid palace of Agra, were obtained. The third city is Byaneh, once the capital of this soobah, famous for Indigo of the most valuable species, for white sugar, for mangoes excellent in flavour and of uncommon magnitude, "some weighing above two pounds," and for various other rarities. The fort is large, and contains many edifices and subterraneous caverns, where there are now

found

found warlike weapons and kitchen utensils. It is remarkable for a very high tower. Concerning the city of Muttra, upon the banks of the Jumna, nothing is specified, but that it has many idolatrous temples, the resort of pious Hindoos. Of that hallowed city, however, which was the birth-place of Chrishna, some farther account will be given hereafter. Of Kinoje too much probably has been already said. Gwalior, that celebrated fortress which for so many ages was the prison of the royal family, is the last place of importance noticed, but is not particularly described. It is, however, said to be celebrated for the goodness of its air and water, its fine singers, and beautiful women.

In Agra are manufactures of blankets and fine stuffs, and in Allore those of woollen carpets and glass. In this soobah there are mines of silver, torquoise-stones, and copper: it contains thirteen circars, subdivided into two hundred and three pergunnahs. The amount of revenue is 64 cose, 62 lacks, 50,304 daums, or sicca-rupees 1,61,56,257—9; and the number of the forces it furnishes are 50,600 cavalry, 577,570 infantry, and 221 elephants.

The soobah and city of Agra, during the period of the decline aud since the extinction of the Mogul empire, have witnessed a rapid

succession

succession of masters. The Jauts were the first usurpers, and, in 1770, were in possession of the city and a great part of the soobah bordering upon the Jumna. From their conquests in Agra, that once powerful race were, about eighteen years ago, driven by the superior forces of Nudjuff Khan. Nudjuff was in his turn expelled by the present possessor, Madajee Sindia, at this time one of the most formidable among the self-created sovereigns of Hindostan.

MALWA.

Malwa, which, like the preceding soobahs, is situated in the second climate, is in length 245 cose, and in breadth 230 cose. "It is bounded on the east by Bandhnoo, on the north by Nerwer and mountains, on the south by Boklanch, and on the west by Guzzurat and Ajmeer. The rivers Nerbuddah, Soopera, Calysind, Neem, and Lowdy, flow through this soobah. You cannot travel two or three cose without meeting with streams of good water, whose banks are shaded by the wild willow and other trees, and decorated with the hyacinth and other beautiful and odoriferous flowers.

"There are abundance of lakes and verdant plains, ornamented with innumerable magnificent

ficent and elegant buildings. The climate is so temperate, that in winter there is no occasion for warm cloathing, nor is it necessary in summer to cool the water with salt-petre. But in the four rainy months the night air is cold enough to render a quilt necessary. The situation of this soobah, compared with the other parts of Hindostan,* is somewhat high, and all the land is arable. Both harvests are very good. Wheat, poppies, sugar-cane, mangoes, musk-melons, and grapes, are here in high perfection. In Hasselpoor the vine bears fruit twice a year. The beetle-leaf is very fine. The natives of Malwa give their children opium to eat till they are three years old; the peasants and even the market-people are never without arms."

The principal places of importance enumerated in Malwa are Owjain, a large city, held in high veneration by the Hindoos, and situated upon the banks of the Soopera, a river which Abul Fazil, with great gravity, observes sometimes flows with milk; Gurreh, a district abounding with forests and wild elephants, so fertile that it supplies both Guzzurat and the

* Mr Rennel says, it is unequivocally the highest region in Hindostan.

Deccan

Deccan with grain; Chundery, a very large and antient city, in which is a stone fort; and indeed this city must have been one of the largest in India, for it is said to have contained "fourteen thousand stone houses, three hundred and eighty-four markets, three hundred and sixty caravanseras. and twelve thousand mosques;" and Mundoo, once the capital of the soobah, whose fortress is twelve cose in circuit, and displays in the centre of it a minaret eight stories in hight. This deserted capital is said to abound in monuments of antient magnificence, and to be honoured with the tombs of the Kuljyan sultans. In its neighbourhood a species of tamarind grows, as big as the cocoa-nut. I omit the long account of the PARIS-stone, said to have been discovered in this soobah, which had the enviable property of converting whatever metal it touched into gold, as of kindred veracity with that of the river whose current was milk.

Malwa at this time is divided among the Paishwah, the nominal head of the western empire of Mahrattas, Madajee Sindia before-mentioned, and Holker, a Mahratta chief, whose capital is Indore, situated about thirty miles on the west of Ougein.

Malwa contains twelve sircars, subdivided into 301 pergunnahs. Its revenue is stated at twenty-four crore, six lacks, ninety-five thousand and fifty-two daums, or sicca-rupees 6,17,376—4—15; its forces at 280,816 cavalry, 68,000 infantry, and 90 elephants.

KHANDEES.

This soobah, which was by Akber denominated Dandees, in memory of his son, Sultan Daniel, who died at its capital of Berhampore, is also situated in the second climate. It is in length seventy-five cose, and in breadth fifty cose; being bounded on the north and west by Malwa, on the south by Kalneh, on the east by Berar, and on the north by a range of lofty mountains. "It abounds with rivers and rivulets. Of these the principal is the Talee, frequently called the Poomy. The air of this soobah is delightful and the winter is very temperate. Jewary is the grain principally cultivated in this soobah, and in several places they have three crops of it in the year. Their esculent plants are remarkably fine; the rice is excellent; and they have great plenty of flowers and fruits, together with beetle-leaf in abundance.

Among the principal cities, towns, and forts, enumerated, are Asseer, a castle where the governor of the province resides, situated upon a lofty mountain, incomparably strong, and encompassed with three other forts, at whose top is a very large city: — Berhampore, the capital of Khandees, lying upon the river Tapty, and three cose from Asseer, surrounded with beautiful gardens, abounding with sandal-wood, and inhabited by people of all nations, but particularly by handicraftsmen: — Adelabad, a good town, which the Hindoos hold in great veneration: — Changdavy, a village near which the rivers Tapty and Poorna unite their streams, forming a confluence, held sacred by the Hindoos, and by them called Jiggerteerut, or *the liver of holy places:* — Damerny, a populous town, near which is a reservoir of *boiling water* worshipped by the Hindoos: — Chowpurreh, a large town, well inhabited: — and Thainy, a fort, which, though situated upon a plain, is nevertheless a place of great strength.

In this soobah are thirty-two pergunnahs, all in high cultivation. The husbandmen are honourably spoken of as dutiful subjects, as very laborious, and some of them as remarkable for their skill in taming lions. Khandees, or Candeish, is the smallest of the soobahs, and is at present

present divided among the Paishwa, Sindia, and Holkar. The fine city of Berhampore is in possession of Sindia. The amount of the revenue is 12,64,762 Berary tungahs, and the tungah is reckoned at twenty-four daums.

BERAR.

The soobah of Berar is in length 200 cose and in breadth 180 cose. It is also situated in the second climate. On the east it joins to Beeragurgh, on the north lies Settarah, on the south Hindiah, and on the west Telingana. "The air is very temperate and the soil is highly cultivated." The principal river is the Godavery, which is a sacred stream, dedicated to Kotum, as the Ganges is to Mahadeo, and is holden in great veneration by the natives. Its source is in the mountains of Sihya, near Turneek, and the current passing through the territory of Ahmednegur enters Berar, and thence rolls into Telingana. The Talce and the Tapty are also sacred streams.

In this soobah are diamond-mines. The learned reader will recollect, that Ptolemy speaks of the diamonds found on the banks of the Sambulpoor river. In some parts are saltpetre works, which yield a considerable reve-

nue to the state: they have likewise manufactures of flowered stuffs. "In Indore and Neermul are steel-mines. Those places are also famous for very neat stone vessels. Their oxen are very fine. The house-cocks which are bred there have black blood and bones."

Eletchpore is described as a large city, where the governor of the soobah resides, and Kullem as an antient city, famous for buffaloes. Some very strong forts are enumerated, of which the principal is Ramgurh, said by Abul Fazil not to be at that time conquered by Akber. Indeed, as only the western parts of Berar were ever conquered by that emperor, the account of this soobah is but very incomplete; nor, from their ignorance of the internal parts, has this defect been even yet supplied by modern writers. In the mountains of Berar, liberty seems to have made a bold stand against the incursions of the Mogul arms. The number, which is considerable, and the strength, which is truly formidable, of the antient rajahs and zemeendars of Berar, are particularised by the secretary of Akber. One of them, by name Chatwa, is said to have commanded 2,000 cavalry, 50,000 infantry, and 100 elephants. As in Bahar there is a sacred place called Gaya, dedicated to Brahma, so in

Berar is there a Gaya, sacred to Bishen; and our author tells us of a third of the same name, near Bijapoor, being a vast reservoir of water, remarkable for a very deep spring. At these three places, say the Brahmins, if charity be bestowed it obtains pardon for the deceased.

Berar contains 13 sircars, subdivided into 42 pergunnahs, the revenues of which are collected by Nussuck, that is, by a valuation of the crops.

Not being a settled government, the total amount of the forces it could raise is not specified, nor that of its revenue clearly stated. The principal part of this soobah belongs to a Mahratta chief, called Moodajee Boonslah, a direct descendant of Sevagee, the original founder of that empire in Hindostan, whose capital is Nagpoor. The remainder of Berar is holden by the Nizam, who pays a chout, or fourth part of its clear revenue, to Moodajee.

GUZZURAT.

This soobah, situated in the second climate, is in length 302 cose and in breadth 260 cose. On the east lies Khandees, on the north Jalore and Ider, on the south are the ports of Dummun and Cambayet, and on the west Jugget,

which is situated on the sea-shore. The southern parts of Guzzurat abound with mountains. It is watered by the ocean and by the following rivers; the Sabermutty, the Bateruck, the Mehindery, the Narbudda, the Tapty, and the Sirsooty. The air of this soobah is temperate; the soil sandy. That species of grain called jewary and bajero is said to be principally cultivated in Guzzurat; wheat, barley, and rice, are imported from the neighbouring provinces. So great an abundance of mangoes, of which some are uncommonly large and delicious, of musk-melons, figs, and most other fruits, plants, and flowers, natives of India, grow here, that the whole soobah has the appearance of a perfect garden. All sorts of Indian manufactures flourish in Guzzurat; many of the most curious and costly kinds. Boxes inlaid with ivory and pearl, gold and silver stuffs, velvets, cotton cloths, excellent swords, bows and arrows, are fabricated here. There is a considerable traffic in precious stones, and silver is imported from Room and Irak.

The capital of this rich, flourishing, and extensive, soobah is Ahmedabad.* The situa-

* The reader is desired to notice, that ABAD always means *city*, and PORE, *place*: thus, Ahmed-abad is the city of Ahmed; Fattehpore, the place of victory.

tion is described as remarkably healthy. It has two forts, and was once divided into 360 quarters, of which only 84 are in a prosperous condition. "In these are 1,000 mosques, each having two large minarets and many wonderful inscriptions." Twelve cose from this city is Mahmudabad, containing very many grand edifices and surrounded with a wall seven cose square. The ports of Cambay and Ghogeh are dependant upon sircar Ahmedabad. Ghogeh (Goga) is a large port, well built, and inhabited by merchants of various kinds. The cargoes of the ships are put into imall vessels, called Tahwery, which transport them to Cambay. Siddahpoor and Beernagurh are noticed as places of great religious resort and inhabited principally by Brahmins; the latter containing 300 idolatrous temples. Chumpaneer is a fort situated upon a lofty mountain, the road to which for upwards of two cose is extremely difficult, and there are gates at several parts of the defile. At one place they have excavated near sixty ells in length, which space is covered with planks that can be removed on the approach of an enemy. Sooret (Surat) is a great emporium. The river Tapti runs past it, and, at the distance of seven cose, joins the sea. The followers of Zerdusht, when they fled from

 Persia,

Persia settled at Surat, where they practised the doctrine inculcated by the Zend and its commentary the Pazend. From the liberality of his majesty's disposition, says Abul Fazil, every sect exercises its particular mode of worship without interruption. Baroach is also a fine fort and a grand emporium: it is washed by the Nerbuddah in its passage to the ocean. Sircar Surat was formerly an independent territory; the chief was of the Ghelote tribe, and commanded 50,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry. It is now formed into nine principal divisions, each inhabited by a different tribe.

Through the description of all those divisions it is not necessary for us to follow the Ayeen Akbery: but, in the first division, called *New Surat*, may be noticed the city and strong stone fort of Chunahgurh, situated in the heart of the Peninsula: and, in the second division, Putten Sumnaut, a large town upon the shore of the ocean, particularly challenges our attention, from its having been antiently a most celebrated place of Hindoo worship, and decorated with a pagoda the most superb and wealthy of any throughout Hindostan. The source of the Nerbuddah, which is holden in the most sacred veneration by the Hindoos, is near Sumnaut. Those, who delight in prodigies,

gics, will find their taste for the marvellous gratified by reading farther the account of this second division of Guzzurat. The third division, it is said, contains the remains of a large city in ruins, whose name is not specified, but of which the situation, at the foot of the mountains of Sironj, appears very desirable. The antient city Mr Rennel takes to have been Nehlwarah, mentioned by Ferishtah as the capital of this soobah, and by the Arabian travellers of the ninth century as the residence of the supreme Balhara, or monarch of Cambay. "The sixth division has such large rivers, the mountains are so lofty, and the country is in general so woody, as to be impervious to an army. It is inhabited by the tribe of Chetore." The ninth division is remarkable for being the residence of the Charun tribe, a race of people who seem to resemble the antient bards; for, we are told, that "the greatest part of them employ themselves in singing hymns of celebration and in reciting genealogies, and that in battle they repeat warlike fables to animate the troops. They are also famous for discovering secret things: throughout Hindostan there is hardly a great man who hath not some of this tribe in his service." After the enumeration of these divi-

sions, is described the wild and dreary region of Cutch, lying to the west of Guzzurat, and extending in length 250 cose and in breadth 100 cose. The greatest part of Cutch is composed of woods and uncultivated sands; but fine horses are bred in those woods, which are supposed to be of Arabian extraction. They have also remarkably good camels and goats. The men are tall and well-proportioned and wear long beards. The capital city is Tahej, which has two strong forts, called Jharch and Khundkote. The military force of this country is stated at 10,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry. A considerable tract of low fenny country, on the west of Ahmedabad, at certain seasons inundated by the sea, and, when dry, famous for the manufacture of great quantities of salt, is also particularly pointed out in the Ayeen Akbery: but our wonder is not a little excited, that a river of such magnitude as the Puddar, which passes through, and contributes by its rising waters to overflow, that spot, is not so much as mentioned.

The soobah of Guzzurat contains nine sircars, divided into 198 pergunnahs, of which 13 are ports. The amount of revenue in sicca-rupees is 10,96,223—3—11. The forces are rated as 67,375 cavalry and 8,900 infantry.

The largest, as well as the most valuable portion of Guzzurat is divided between the Paishwa, or nominal head of the western empire of the Mahrattas, and Futty Sing Gwicker, whose dominion extends chiefly over the northern region. The English army, under General Goddard, were once in posession of the finest part of this soobah, having reduced the important fortresses of Bassein and Ahmedabad, and penetrated the inland country to the very foot of the Gauts; but, in the peace negotiated with the Mahrattas in 1783, these splendid acquisitions were prudently relinquished, and they at this day remain invested only with the sovereignty of Bombay, Salsette, and the adjoining isles.

AJMEER.

The greatest length of Ajmeer is 168 cose and the extreme breadth includes 150 cose. On the east lies Agra; on the north, part of Delhi; it has Guzzurat on the south; and Deybalpore of Multan confines it on the west. The soil of this soobah is represented as a deep sand, and therefore the success of the harvest depends entirely upon the periodical rains. Their winter is temperate, but the

summer

summer is intensely hot. The revenue is in general a seventh or an eighth of the produce of the harvest, little being paid in ready money. The common people are said to live in houses with pitched roofs built of bamboo and straw. To the south are mountains, and the whole of this soobah abounds with strong holds.

Ajmeer is composed of Maywar, Marwar, and Hadowty. Maywar contains ten thousand villages, and the whole of sircar Chitore is dependent upon it. It is in length 40 cose and in breadth 30 cose, and it has three very considerable forts: viz. Chitore, Cowmblere, and Mandel. The governor resides at Chitore. In Chowra is an iron-mine. In Jainpore and some places dependent upon Mandel are copper-mines. The present possessors of these lands are native zemeendars, who antiently were named Rawel, but for a long time past are called Ranna. They are of the Ghelote tribe, and consider themselves to be descendants from Noorshirvan, king of Persia. This circumstance is somewhat singular; but one still more singular occurs in the same page: for, the elected rajah has the Keshkeh drawn upon his forehead with human blood. This custom alone seems to prove that they are not of the true line of the blood-abhorring Hindoo.

doo. Marwar is in length 100, and in breadth 60, cose. Sircars Ajmeer, Jewdehpore, Sirowheh, Nagore, and Beykaneer, are dependent upon it. The Rathore (Mahratta) tribe have inhabited this division for ages past. They have many forts, of which the following are the most famous: Ajmeer, Jewdehpore, Beykaneer, Jelmeer, Amerkote, and Jyugurh. Hadowty, called also sircar Nagore, is inhabited by the Hadeh tribe. This soobah is entirely in the possession of Sindia and the Mahrattas. It contains seven sircars, subdivided into 197 pergunnahs. The amount of the revenue is 22,84,1507 daums, out of which 23,26386 are Seyurgal. It has 86,500 cavalry and 347,000 Rajpoot infantry.

DELHI.

This soobah is situated in the third climate. Its greatest length is stated at 165 cose, its extreme breadth at 140 cose. On the east lies Agra; on the north are mountains; on the south, the boundaries are Agra and Ajmeer; and Lodyaneh confines it on the west. The principal rivers are the Ganges and the Jumna: among the inferior streams may be numbered the Cagger. The climate is comparatively temperate.

perate. Most of the lands are inundated during the periodical rains. Some places are said to produce two harvests in a year. Here grow most of the fruits of Persia, Tartary, and Hindostan, with a great variety of flowers. Throughout this soobah are many grand buildings of stone and brick, and it is stored with the productions of every part of the globe. A part of the northern mountains of this soobah is called Kamaoon, where there are mines of gold, lead, silver, iron, copper, orpiment, and borax. Here are also found abundance of musk-deer, silk-worms, falcons of various kinds, and plenty of honey.

The city of Delhi has been already described at large. Sembhel (Sambul) is the city next deserving notice, in which is a Brahmin place of worship called Hurmundel, where it is said the tenth Avatar will make his appearance. Whenever he comes, and under whatever form, things will be found strangely altered in these parts since the period of the last Avatar, or the benevolent Boodh's appearance among the Hindoos. In sircar Sembhel the rhinoceros is frequently hunted. Of his skin they make shields, and his horn is applied to the ends of bows where the string is fastened. Sehrind is called a famous city; it

it was doubtless the Serinda whence silk was brought in the time of Justinian; and, although Mr Rennel observes that no mention is made of a silk-manufacture at this place in the Ayeen Akbery, yet he must have noticed that, a few lines above, this soobah is said to abound in silk-worms. Tanassar is held sacred by the Hindoos. The river Sirsutty, to which they pay profound adoration, runs near it, and in its vicinity is the venerated lake Koorkhet. This was the scene of the Mahabbarat, or the great, war. The city of Hustnapore was the imperial residence of Rajah Behrut, a prince renowned for justice and love of his subjects; of whom, and his capital of Hustnapore, or Hastinapore, much more will be said hereafter.

This soobah contains eighty sircars, subdivided into 222 pergunnahs. The revenue is 60,16,15,555 daums; out of which 3,30,75,739 daums are Seyurghal.

The Seiks, that rising and powerful state before-mentioned, connected together by a strong federal union, are at this day in possession of the western parts of Delhi. The southern region, extending quite to the city of Delhi, successively under the control of the Jauts and Nudjuff Khan, has been of late

late years seised upon by Sindia, who permits Shah Aulum, his royal prisoner, to reign king in name, but, in reality, a menial pensioner upon his bounty, in the humbled metropolis of the vast empire of his ancestors. The north and eastern territories, to the mountains of Sewalic, are governed by the grandson of the late Nidjib Dowlah, the guardian of the young prince, whom Abdallah, in 1761, placed upon the imperial throne.

LAHOOR.

The length of this soobah measures 180, the breadth 86, cose. It is situated in the third climate. On the east lies Serhind, on the north Cashmeer, on the south Beykaneer of Ajmeer, and Multan bounds it on the west. Its rivers have been before enumerated. Lahoor is described as very populous, highly cultivated, and exceedingly healthy. The cultivated lands are chiefly supplied with water from wells. The winter is much severer here than in any other part of Hindostan, although considerably milder than in Persia and Tartary. Through his majesty's (Akber's) encouragement, here are to be procured the choicest productions of Turan, Iran, and

Hindostan.

Hindostan. Musk-melons are procurable here all the year, either from the native soil or from the neighbouring provinces. Ice, too, is brought from the northern mountains and sold throughout the year. Their horses resemble those of Irak and are very fine. In some parts, by sifting and washing the sands of the rivers, they obtain gold, silver, copper, tin, brass, and lead. From a mountain in this soobah, rock-salt is dug in great abundance. It is also famous for handicraftsmen.

Of Lahoor, the capital of this soobah, enough has been already said. Nagracaut is a city situated upon a mountain, with a fort called Kangerah. In its neighbourhood is a most antient and celebrated place of Hindoo devotion and pilgrimage, where the blind enthusiast cuts out his tongue as a sacrifice to the idol. Lahoor contains five duabehs, or interamnian regions, subdivided into 234 pergunnahs. The revenue amounts to 55,94,58,423 daums. Its forces are 54,480 cavalry and 426,086 infantry.

MULTAN.

This soobah is situated in the first, second, and third, climates. Its length from Feerooz-

pore to Sewistan is 403 cose, its breadth from Rhutpore to Jelmeer 108 cose. If Tattah be considered as included in it, which in fact it is by Abul Fazil, the additional length to Cutch and Mocran will measure the enormous line of 660 cose. On the east lies Serhind; the pergunnah of Shoor joins it on the north, on the south it is bounded by the soobah of Ajmeer, on the west are situated Cutch and Mocran, both of which are independent territories. Tattah is watered by the rivers before-described in Lahoor, which, passing through this soobah, unite their streams, and form the Sind. Of this river, and its mighty though remote rivals in fame, the Ganges and Brahmapooter, the reader will find a particular and ample account at the end of this Geographical Dissertation. Mountains extend along the north side of this soobah. It resembles Lahoor in many respects, and its fruits are delicious: it has, however, the benefit but of little rain, which seldom falls here, and the heat is excessive. Between Seewee and Bhakor is a large desert, over which, during three of the summer months, there blows the pernicious hot wind, called in Arabia *Semoon*. Only two cities of eminence are mentioned in this soobah: the first is Multan, the apital of one of the most antient cities of India, having

having been, according to Mr Rennel, the metropolis of the Malli, and from them probably deriving the name of Multan, or Malli-patan, that is, the city of the Malli. It is described as having a strong brick fort and a beautiful lofty minaret. The second is Bhakor, which is said to have a good fort, and in antient books to have been called Munsoorah.

Multan contains three sircars, subdivided into eight pergunnahs. The amount of its rerevenue is stated at 15,14,03619 daums, of its forces at 13,785 cavalry and 165,650 infantry. This soobah, generally speaking, may be said to be at this day in the hands of the Seiks, as they are doubtless in possession of the most fertile and cultivated regions of it.

Sircar TATTAH, once an independent territory, but now included in Multan, is of such considerable note, as to be honoured by the secretary of Akber with a longer account than that of the soobah to which it is annexed. Its length, from Bhakor to Cutch and Mocran, is 257 cose, and its breadth, from the town of Budeyan to Bunder Lawry, is 100 cose. On the east lies Guzzurat, on the the north Bhakor and Seewee, on the south the sea, and on the west Cutch and Mocran. Tattah is situated in the second climate; and its capital of the same

name, according to our author, is in latitude 24° 10′, but according to Mr Rennel in 24° 50. "The winter in this country is so temperate, that there is no occasion for furs, and the heat of the summer, except in Sewistan, is very moderate. In Tattah are various fine fruits, and the mangoes are remarkably good. A small kind of melon grows wild. Here are also a great variety of flowers, and their camels are much esteemed. The inhabitants travel chiefly by water; they build boats of various constructions, and have not less than 40,000 in number. They hunt the wild ass, hares, hogs, and the kotchpatcheh, and they are fond of fishing. The husbandman divides his crops with the government, but is allowed to keep two-thirds. Here are iron-mines and salt-pits. The food of the natives is rice and fish: the former is fine and in abundance; of the latter, a particular kind, called Pulwa, which comes from the sea into the Indus, is exceedingly delicious, They dry fish in the sun, and make an advantageous trade of it; they also extract oil from fish, which they use in building boats." The mountains of this soobah are numerous, and run in various directions, nourishing on their lofty sides the savage and warlike race of Balloches, or Balloges; some tribes

of

of which, since the rapid decline of the Moguls, have seised upon a considerable territory on the borders of Mewhat, and established themselves in the heart of the empire. They breed horses and camels upon these mountains. One of these tribes is named NOMURDY by Abul Fazil; and, as this was part of the tract called by the antients INDO-SCYTHIA, Mr Rennel seems inclined to think that they may be the descendants of the Scythian Nomades. This conjecture derives force from the prevalence of a custom which was peculiar to the natives of antient Scythia, that of the grasiers who inhabit the villages on the banks of the Indus occasionally changing their position, and wandering with the deviations of the stream.

In antient times the capital was Brahminabad, which was then a very populous city. we may judge of its magnitude from that of its fort, which is said to have had 1400 bastions, a tenab distant from each other; and of this fortification there are at present considerable vestiges. Mr Rennel, in confirmation of this, observes, that the ruins of a city, supposed to be Brahminabad, are still visible within four miles of Tattah: and the reader will remember that Mr Rennel writes near 200 years after

Abul Fazil. Tattah, which is the Daibul of the Persian tables of Sir William Jones, is now the fourth sircar of the soobah of Multan, and is said to contain five inferior sircars, subdivided into fifty-three pergunnahs. The revenue amounts to 6,615,293 daums.

CASHMERE.

Cashmere, the last of the soobahs in Akber's division of Hindostan, is situated in the third and partly in the fourth climate. It is said to be composed of Cashmere, properly so called, Pehkely, Bhember, Sewad, Bijore, Kandahar, and Zabulistan. This soobah is stated by Abul Fazil as extending 120 cose in length, and from ten to twenty-five cose in breadth. Mr Rennel citing this passage, either by mistake or as a correction, mentions the breadth as only fifteen cose. He inclines to think the whole statement exaggerated; and tells us, from Mr Forster's route, that Cashmire is 80 miles in length, 40 in breadth, and of an oval form.

Of this "delightful and extraordinary valley of Cashmere," as it is called by Sir W. Jones in a passage quoted before, the description in the Ayeen Akbery abounds with such ardent expressions of admiration, that we are induced

induced really to suppose it to be, what by Eastern writers it is so often called, the paradise of the Indies. It is represented "as a garden in perpetual spring, entirely surrounded with mountains, the fortifications with which nature has furnished it, of an astonishing height, so that its grand and romantic appearance cannot fail of delighting those who are fond of variety, as well as those who take pleasure in retirement. The water is remarkably good, and the cataracts are enchantingly magnificent. Violets, roses, narcissuses, and innumerable other flowers, grow wild in Cashmere. The spring and autumn display scenes that at once delight and astonish. It has plenty of excellent fruits, especially melons, apples, peaches, and apricots; and the rain descends not in a deluge, as in other parts of Hindostan, but in light and genial showers." Amidst these advantages, however, they are not free from the dreadful calamity of frequent earthquakes; "on which account they do not build their houses with brick and stone, but of wood, with which the country abounds." In Cashmere are various manufactures of wool, particularly of shawls, which are carried to all parts of the globe; and of silk, which occasions the general cultivation of mulberry-trees, not so much for

the fruit as for the leaves, on which the silk-worms feed. As the inhabitants are extremely happy, so we must suppose them to be remarkably industrious; for every town in this soobah has as many handicraftsmen as are to be found in the large cities of other countries. They live chiefly upon rice, fish (either fried or dried), and vegetables. Of animals, they have a species of sheep called Hundoo, whose flesh is exceedingly delicious and wholesome. They have horses, small but hardy, and cows, black and ugly, but yielding plenty of good milk. They breed neither elephants nor camels; and they have neither snakes, scorpions, nor other venomous reptiles.

Sirrynagur is mentioned as the capital of Cashmere in Akber's time, and it is said for ages to have been in a flourishing state. The name of Sirrynagur has since been exchanged for that of the province, and the modern capital of Cashmere is described by Mr Forster, the last English visitor, as a large city built on each side of the Chelum, the ancient Hydaspes, which rolls through the centre of the valley, whose whole extent, according to tradition, it antiently overspread in the form of a vast lake. It is situated in latitude 33° 49′: its longitude is 73° 11. The account of this soobah, and of the

the provinces included in it, is uncommonly minute, and from an enumeration of many absurd and superstitious practices, somewhat tedious. A general idea of its wealth, traffic, and natural productions, has been given above; and I shall not attempt to follow Abul Fazil through all its various subdivisions, but hasten on to the two important sircars, as they are here called, of Candahar and Cabul. The antients divided Cashmere into two parts only, calling the eastern division Meraj and the western division Camraj. Its revenue, in the reign of Aurungzeb, Mr. Rennel states at no more than about 35,000*l.* sterling; a circumstance, he observes, that seems to prove Cashmere to have been a favoured province. The forces Abul Fazil states at 4892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry.

CANDAHAR.

Candahar is situated in the third climate. It is in length 300 cose, and measures in breadth 260 cose. Its capital of the same name is situated on the mountains, which the Greeks called Paropamisus, and is supposed to have been built by Alexander, whose Eastern name of Secander is easily traced in that name. It has been considered, from early antiquity, as

the

the gate of Hindostan towards Persia; and through it every invading army from that quarter has constantly passed. It is situated in latitude 33°, and in longitude 67° 05'. The heat in summer at Candahar is extreme, while the cold in winter is severe. It has two forts of uncommon strength and magnitude. There are fruits and flowers in abundance in this soobah, and the wheat is remarkable for its whiteness.

CABUL.

Cabul is situated in the third and fourth climates. Its length from Attock Benares, on the banks of the Sind, to Hindoo-Ko (the Indian CAUCASUS) is 150 cose, and from the river to Chaghanserai, the eastern boundary, is 100 cose. It is impossible, Abul Fazil observes, to give in writing an adequate idea of the excellence of the air and water of this country. Although the winter is rather severe, yet it never does any injury. The temperate and the frozen regions of this very mountainous soobah so nearly join, that you may pass from heat to cold in the course of a day. The country abounds with delicious fruits. The melons, however, are an exception, being but indifferent; and the harvests are

not

not very flourishing. Hindoo-Ko lies in the centre between Cabul, Badakshan, and Balkh. The inhabitants are chiefly Afghans, who live by pasturage, and breed, on its lofty mountains and on its extensive plains, innumerable droves of horses, camels, sheep, and goats.

The extensive, the celebrated, the commercial, capital of Cabul, once the imperial residence of Baber, is situated in latitude 34° 36′, in longitude 68° 58′. According to Abul Fazil, it is a very antient and beautiful city; and Pusheng is said to have been its founder. It is situated, Mr Rennel informs us, at the foot of the Indian Caucasus, and not far from the source of the Attock river, which passes very near or under it. Its situation, he adds, is spoken of in terms of rapture by the Hindoo historians, Cabul being less romantic than pleasant, enjoying a delightful air, and having within its reach the fruits and other products both of the temperate and the torrid zone. It is the gate of Hindostan towards Tartary, as Candahar is towards Persia; and, if both places be properly guarded, that extensive empire is safe from the irruption of foreigners. Similar to this observation, which is taken from the Ayeen Akbery, is a remark in the Short Description of Asia, p. 7, " that according to the Indians,

no man can be called the ruler of India who has not taken possession of Cabul." Baber was in possession of it, and soon became the Indian sovereign. Abdallah, its late master, made some rapid advances towards the conquest of Upper India; and disposed at his will of the crown of Delhi. In this soobah a pergunnah, composed of villages and hamlets, is called Tooman.

Tooman Bekram, commonly called Peishore, enjoys a delightful spring-season. Its capital, called also Peishore, is a considerable city; and is situated on the great road leading from Attock to Cabul. Tooman Ghuzneen (Gazna) deserves notice from the renown which in former times its capital enjoyed, having been the imperial city of the Gaznavide sultans. Gazna was formerly called Zabul; whence the whole province was called Zabulistan; and Candahar was at that time only considered as a part of it. This antient capital is placed by D'Anville in the north-west extreme of the soobah; but Mr Rennel, guided by Mr Forster's Journal, has placed it in a more probable situation, in the very heart of the province. In the Description of Asia, cited above, it is said to be "an unpleasant city; and that the inhabitants are forced to send to Meimend for their fruit

and

and herbage." The Ayeen Akbery corroborates this account, by affirming, "that the husbandman undergoes great labour, from being obliged to bring fresh mould from Cabul every year; the natural soil of the country being too poor for cultivation." The whole of Cabul consists of twenty Toomans. Its revenue is stated by Abul Fazil at 6 crore, 73 lacks, and 6983 daums. The number of its forces is not ascertained in the Ayeen Akbery, but Manuchi reckons them at 60,000 cavalry, and 12,000 infantry. This whole northern tract of country, including generally Cabul, Candahar, Gazna, Peishore, Gaur, Seistan, and Chorasan, and extending in length not less than 650 Bengal miles from east to west, owns for its potent sovereign Timur Shah Abdallah. He is the son of that Ahmed Abdallah, who, upon the death of Nadir, seised upon these parts of his vast empire, and erected them into an independent kingdom, differing little in limits and extent from the antient empire of Gazna.

Such were the particulars which seemed most deserving of notice, and most illustrative of the following pages in the Ayeen Akbery. Reserving the consideration of the geography of the PENINSULA for that period of the ensuing history when it was first penetrated by

the arms of the Mohammedans, I shall conclude this Dissertation on the Geography of the country, which is properly called HINDOSTAN, with an account of those three mighty rivers which at once bound and adorn it.

I shall begin with the INDUS, because we have been just describing the countries through which it passes.

In the account of the river INDUS, given by Pliny,* that author observes, "Indus ab incolis Sandus appellatur;" *the river Indus is by the natives called Sandus.* How very much is it to be lamented that he and his brethren of classical celebrity have not more frequently given us the native appellation of Indian cities, mountains, and rivers! How much unavailing solicitude would they have saved the geographer and the historian! Mr Wilkins, in a note to his translation of the Heetopades,† informs us, that the proper name of the river, which we call the Indus, as written in Sanscreet characters, is SEENDHOO, which by the vulgar is pronounced SEEND. The Ayeen Akbery‡ expresses doubt concerning the exact site of

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 20. Aldi edit. This edition reads Sandus; all the others Sindus.

† Heetopades, p. 332. ‡ Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 132.

its source; for that book observes, that, according to some, it rises between Cashmere and Cashgur, while others place its source in Khatai, or Tartary. Major Rennel has found no opportunity to decide the question; but thinks it may possibly spring from the west side of that ridge of Imaus, which, in the opinion of the antients, separated the two Scythias, in about the 38th degree of north latitude. The first part of its course seems to lie through that region of Cashgur* which is known to be a desert of deep and black sand, particles of which being washed away by the rapidity of the stream, and mingling with its waters, give them a black, or rather a blue, colour; whence, probably, in its early course, it is called NILAB, or the BLUE river. Sir W. Jones, speaking of the probable connection that antiently existed between India and Egypt, seems inclined to derive even the name of the river Nile from the Sanscreet root NILA, BLUE, and is confirmed in that idea by the great geographer Dionysius expressly calling the waters of that river an azure stream†.

* See the account of Cashgur, in Abulgazi Khan's History of the Tartars, vol. ii. p. 476.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 271.

Entering Hindostan, nearly in latitude 34′, it passes through Kenore and Puckely, and receives in its course the tribute of ten principal streams, which descend from the Persian and Tartarian mountains on the north-east and north-west. From the city of Attock, downwards to Multan, it is called the river of ATTOCK. Below Multan, which is about the same distance from the sea as Allahabad, that is, about 800 miles by the course of the river, the Seendhoo, swollen with all the rivers of the Panjab, flows majestically down to Tattah, under the assumed name of SOOR, or SHOOR. Near Tattah it divides itself into a number of channels, and the principal branch rolls rapidly on to the ocean, under the new appellation of MEHRAN.

The breadth of the Indus at Bazaar, a town situated about twenty miles to the north-east of Attock, according to Mr Forster, is three quarters of a mile. He observed the stream to be very rapid and turbulent, although not agitated by any wind; and the water itself he found to be extremely cold. Captain Hamilton, whose account of this river is the most accurate and extensive of any writer before his time, represents its breadth at Tattah to be one mile, and the same breadth is assigned it by Mr Rennel

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at the town of Ritchel, on the coast, where its largest branch enters the ocean. The former of these gentlemen states the depth of the Indus at six fathom, and its velocity at four miles per hour in the dry season; he adds that the inundations prevail in April, May, and June; that they leave a fat slime on the ground, which they till easily before it dries, and which, when sown and harrowed, never fails to produce a good crop; that the internal commerce carried on by means of the Indus is immense, and that the river itself is navigable, for vessels of near 200 tons, as high up as to Cashmere. It is in every respect, however, far inferior to the Ganges.

The Delta of the Indus extends in length about 150 miles along the sea-coast; and its greatest depth, from the most prominent part of the base to its apex, is 115 miles. The lower region of this Delta is throughout intersected by numerous creeks and rivers: it for the most part consists of noisome swamps or muddy lakes, and is totally destitute of trees. The upper parts of the Delta, however, are well cultivated, and yield abundance of rice. After the rains, the Indus becomes exceedingly impetuous and turbid; and in the mouths of the river, that is called the BORE, or swell of

the current, occasioned by the sudden influx of the tide, is dreadfully high and dangerous.

Two objects still more noble and magnificent now present themselves for consideration; the GANGES and the BRAHMAPOOTER: of these two great rivers, of which the source of the former, and the very name of the latter, were unknown to antiquity, modern travellers have at once explored the origin and traced the progress.

The GANGES, in the language of Hindostan, is called PUDDA, or PADDA, a word in Sanscreet signifying *foot*; because, as some Bramins affirm, it flows from the foot of the god Veeshnu. According to the opinion of others, however, as is asserted in the Ayeen Akbery, it flows from the hair of Mahadeo. But, whether the GANGES be allowed to flow from the hair of one deity or from the foot of another, the allegory simply imports, that the grateful Hindoo acknowledges to receive the blessing of its waters from the immediate bounty of the great Creator. It is also denominated BURRA GONGA, *the great river*, and GONGA, *the river*; whence are derived its native appellation of GONG and its European name of the GANGES.

The

The real sources of the Ganges, I have observed, were unexplored by the antients. The river itself was totally unknown to the great historian of antiquity, Herodotus, from whose declaration* it is evident, that, " the sandy deserts beyond the Indus" were the utmost limit of his knowledge of India. In the time of Strabo, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, near five centuries after, the Ganges had been sailed up as high as Palibothra or Patna; and, in the geography of that writer,† it is said to run southward from the mountains of Emodus. In reality, the springs of this celebrated river are ascertained, by modern discoveries, to lie in the vast mountains of TIBET, about the thirty-third degree of north latitude. From the western side of KENTAISSE, one of those mountains, it takes its course in two branches for three hundred miles westward, but inclining to the north: at that distance from their fountain, meeting the great chain or ridge of mount Himmaleh, the antient Imaus, the two streams are compelled to take a southern direction, and in this course, uniting their currents, form what is properly called the GANGES. Amidst the

* Herodoti, lib. iii. p. 2. Edit. Stephani, 1592.

† Strabonis Geograph. lib. xv. p. 683. Basileæ, 1549.

rugged valleys and steep defiles of that remote and mountainous region, the Ganges continues to wind, until it pours the collected body of its waters through a rocky cavity of the mountain into a vast bason, scooped out by their violent precipitation at its foot. To this rocky cavity, the blind superstition of the natives has attached the idea of some resemblance to the head of the animal, which, like the Apis formerly in Egypt, is holden sacred throughout Hindostan; and the cavern, through which the Ganges rushes at GANGOTRI, is called *the mouth of the cow.* From every inquiry of the few Europeans who have visited this remote spot no real resemblance can be traced; but the same superstition, which originally fabricated, perseveres in believing and propagating, the error. Both Sheriffedin, and Mr Orme after him, place the cow-head rock at the Straits of Cupele, and affirm that Timur attacked the Indians, who were there assembled in great multitudes to purify themselves in the sacred stream, and adore the fancied similitude of their favourite quadruped. After its passage through the rock of Gangotri, the Ganges takes an easterly direction for near three hundred miles, amidst the inhospitable deserts of Sirinagur; and at Hurdwar again forces itself a passage

through the chain of mountains called Sewalick, inferior indeed to Imaus in grandeur and altitude, but still of a most sublime elevation and most majestic appearance. From the mountains of Sewalick, that form the immediate boundary of the provinces lying north of Delhi, the Ganges descends, with little less impetuosity than from GANGOTRI, into the level and cultivated region of Hindostan; then flowing on through delightful plains, and diffusing riches and verdure in its progress, at Allahabad receives a rich tribute to its stream in the waters of the Jumna. If we may believe the Brahmins, another sacred river, called the Serasswatty, joins these rivers under-ground; and therefore this spot, consecrated by the threefold junction of their waves, has ever been the resort of devout pilgrims from every province of Hindostan, and is denominated, in the Ayeen Akbery, *the king of worshipped places.* In its course from Allahabad to the ocean, a course of eight hundred and twenty miles, the Ganges, rolling on through the centre of Bahar and Bengal, among innumerable cities that proudly lift their heads on its banks, is swollen with the influx of many other considerable rivers; some of which, Mr Rennel informs us, are equal to the Rhine, and none smaller than the Thames.

About

About two hundred and twenty miles from the sea, that is, about thirty miles below Rajahmal, commences the head of the Delta of the Ganges, which there, dividing into two great branches, seeks the ocean by two different and remote channels.

The western branch, or, to speak more accurately, the two westernmost branches, called the Cossimbazar and Jellinghy rivers, united into one stream, descend by the city of Hoogly, whose name in passing they assume; and, washing the walls of Chandernagore and of Calcutta, rush in a broad and deep stream into the Gulph of Bengal, at the distance of one hundred and eighty miles from the grand Eastern Ocean. This is the only navigable branch of the Ganges for large ships; the other numerous channels of this river being choaked up by bars of sand and banks of mud, thrown up by the violence of the current and the strong southerly winds. The eastern branch, or rather the main stream of the Ganges, flows on towards Dacca, once the capital of Bengal, which is watered by a noble arm of that river; and, about sixty miles below that city, mingling its waters with those of the Megna, rolls in one united and majestic stream into the ocean.

The

The breadth of the Ganges varies in different places, and according to the different seasons, from one mile and a quarter to three miles. At five hundred miles from the sea, Mr Rennel informs us that the channel is thirty feet deep, when the river is at its lowest, and that it continues at least that depth to the ocean. The velocity of the current likewise varies according to the wet or dry seasons. In the dry months the medium rate of motion is less than three miles an hour; but, at the period of the inundations, that motion is often increased to five and six miles; Mr Rennel records an instance of his own boat being carried at the astonishing rate of fifty-six miles in eight hours.

An object equally novel and grand now claims our attention; so *novel* as not to have been known to Europeans in the real extent of its magnificence before the year 1765, and so awfully grand, that the astonished geographer, Major Rennel, thinking the language of prose inadequate to convey his conceptions, has had recourse to the more expressive and energetic language of poetry; but

> Scarce the Muse herself
> Dare stretch her wing o'er this enormous mass
> Of rushing waters; to whose dread expanse,
> Continuous depth, and wond'rous length of course,
> Our floods are rills.

This

This stupendous object is the BRAHMAPOOTER, a word which in Sanscreet signifies *the son of Brahma*; for no meaner origin could be assigned to so wonderful a progeny. This supreme monarch of Indian rivers derives its source from the opposite side of the same mountains from which the Ganges springs; and, taking a bold sweep towards the east, in a line directly opposite to the course of that river, washes the vast country of Tibet, where, by way of distinction, it is denominated SANPOO, or *the river*. Winding with a rapid current through Tibet, and, for many a league, amidst dreary deserts and regions, remote from the habitations of men, it waters the borders of the territory of Lassa, the residence of the grand Lama; and then deviating, with a cometary irregularity, from an east to a south-east course, the MIGHTY WANDERER approaches within two hundred miles of the western frontiers of the vast empire of China. From this point its more direct path to the ocean lay through the Gulph of Siam; but, with a desultory course peculiar to itself, it suddenly turns to the west through Assam, and enters Bengal on the north-east q arter. Circling round the western point of the Garrow mountains, the Brahmapooter now takes a southern direction; and, for sixty miles

miles before it meets the Ganges, its sister in point of origin, but not its rival in point of magnitude, glides majestically along in a stream which is regularly from four to five miles wide, and, but for its freshness, Mr Rennel says, might pass for an arm of the sea. About forty miles from the ocean these mighty rivers unite their streams: but that gentleman is of opinion that their junction was formerly higher up, and that the accumulation of two such vast bodies of water scooped out the amazing bed of the Megna Lake.* Their present conflux is below Luckipoor, and, by that confluence, a body of fresh running water is produced, hardly equalled, and not exceeded, either in the old or the new hemisphere. So stupendous is that body of water, it has formed a gulph of such extent as to contain islands that rival our Isle of Wight in size and fertility; and with such resistless violence does it rush into the ocean, that, in the rainy season, the sea itself, or at least its surface, is perfectly fresh for many leagues out.

The Delta, formed by the Ganges, exhibits an appearance widely different from that formed

* Megna and Brahmapooter are names belonging to the same river in different parts of its course. The Megna falls into the Brahmapooter, and, though a much smaller river, communicates its name to the other during the rest of its course.

by the Indus, and is considerably more than twice the area of that of the Nile. It is at the base near two hundred miles broad, and has, Mr Rennel informs us, no less than eight considerable openings into the sea, each of which we pronounce without hesitation to have probably been, in its turn, the principal mouth of the Ganges. This whole extent is one vast forest; from that circumstance denominated the woods, or SUNDERBUNDS, whose dangerous recesses the fortitude and industry of man have never yet completely explored, and which, from their forming an impenetrable barrier on that side, as well as from their affording an inexhaustible supply of timber for boat-building, the policy of the English has not yet attempted to clear. These woods are the gloomy haunts of every species of savage animals, but particularly of that formidable race of tigers called the Royal or Bengal tiger, so celebrated throughout the world. The fierceness and intrepidity of these animals are so great, that they have been known to swim, in quest of prey, to the boats that lie at anchor in the river, and often make havoc among the wood-cutters and salt-makers, who carry on " their dreadful trade" upon the shore. Besides those principal openings above-mentioned, the whole coast of the

Delta,

Dolte, bordering on the sea, is indented with innumerable rivers and creeks, while the internal parts of the Sunderbunds are intersected in every direction with a thousand streams, which form a complete inland navigation, and which, according to a description given me by the late Colonel CHARLES IRONSIDE, who had frequently sailed through these woody solitudes, abound with scenes so romantic and beautiful, that they alternately excite in the mind the most rapturous admiration and impress it with the most awful astonishment.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.



Directions to the Binder for placing the Plates in Vol. I.



architecture, sacred dances and musical instruments, and compare the symbolic rites and superstitions of India and Egypt. Volume 6 talks of the diffusion of Indian mythology and sciences and the commerce, navigation and shipbuilding of India.

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This re-issue of *Indian Antiquities* comes with two additional features : a freshly prepared Index and a new learned Introduction by Dr. K. V. Soundara Rajan, formerly Additional Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India.

THOMAS MAURICE was born in 1754 and received his early education at Christ's Hospital, Ealing and at Bath. He attended St. John's and University College, Oxford where he took his M.A. degree. While at Oxford he translated *Oedipus Tyrannus* for which Dr. Johnson wrote the Preface. By the year 1798 he had been ordained as a priest following which he held several curacies and the vicarage of Wormleighton and later, in 1804, the vicarage of Cudham. He was also Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum. A voluminous author, he was one of the first to popularise eastern history and religions.

The Rev. Thomas Maurice died in 1824.